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SOCIAL FACTORS IN EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND ASPIRATIONS
AMONG NEGRO ADOLESCENTS, VOLUME II. SURVEY STUDY.
BY- CRAMER, M. RICHARD AND OTHERS
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THE EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND PLANS OF ADOLESCENTS (GRADES 9-12) IN FOUR SOUTHERN STATES WERE EXAMINED, WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO NEGRO YOUTH. NEARLY 16,000 BOYS AND GIRLS FROM 17 COUNTIES IN ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI, NORTH CAROLINA, AND VIRGINIA WERE SURVEYED BY MEANS OF A QUESTIONNAIRE. FOR MANY OF THESE STUDENTS, ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED FROM SCHOOL RECORDS. FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY INDICATED THAT (1) ABOUT 40 PERCENT OF THE WHITE SUBSAMPLE, BUT ONLY ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF THE NEGRO SUBSAMPLE, PLANNED TO ATTEND COLLEGE IN THE YEAR AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION, (2) LESS THAN 10 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE INDICATED THEY MIGHT ATTEND COLLEGE AT A LATER DATE, AND (3) THAT PART OF THE SAMPLE PLANNING TO DROP OUT OF HIGH SCHOOL BEFORE GRADUATION INCLUDED APPROXIMATELY 25 PERCENT OF THE NEGRO BOYS, 17 PERCENT OF BOTH THE WHITE BOYS AND NEGRO GIRLS, AND 14 PERCENT OF THE WHITE GIRLS. CHARACTERISTICS OTHER THAN RACE WHICH APPEARED TO BE RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AMONG THE SAMPLE (INCLUDING INTELLECTUAL, SOCIAL, AND MATERIAL FACTORS) WERE STATISTICALLY PRESENTED AND DISCUSSED. TYPICALLY, WHEN SUCH CHARACTERISTICS WERE ASSOCIATED WITH ELEVATED EDUCATIONAL GOALS, THE ASSOCIATION POINTED TO COLLEGE PLANNING FOR WHITES AND TO FIRM INTENTIONS NOT TO DROP OUT OF HIGH SCHOOL FOR NEGROES. RELATED INFORMATION MAY BE FOUND IN ED 010 837. (JH)

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SOCIAL FACTORS IN EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND ASPIRATIONS AMONG NEGRO ADOLESCENTS

Volume II: Survey Study

COOPERATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT NO. 1168

M. RICHARD CRAMER, University of North Carolina
CHARLES E. BOWERMAN, University of North Carolina
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M. Richard Cramer, University of North Carolina,

Charles E. Bowerman, University of North Carolina

and

Ernest Q. Campbell, Vanderbilt University

1966

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education appears as a common thread in suggestions for combating many of the biggest domestic problems of the United States in the mid-1960's. In an age of increasing scientific and technological advancement, more emphasis than ever before is being placed on the importance of education in the development of the necessary talent to fill the many new jobs that are being created. Many employers insist on a minimum of a high school education, and an increasing number of positions require a college degree.

At the same time, the twin social problems of poverty and unemployment are viewed as susceptible to the ameliorating influences of education. The unemployed and the poor in general are often not able to take advantage of opportunities for advancement because of lack of education. The unemployment rate in the United States remains distressingly high even during periods of prosperity, and it promises to remain so as long as a large percentage of the population possesses such a low level of job skills that automation is an efficient alternative to their being employed.

Of course, this is not just a problem for the individuals directly affected. Their improverishment, their idleness, and their estrangement from the dominant success-oriented culture of our society are problems for us all. The costs in disease, urban blight, crime and delinquency, and public welfare payments have been noted many times before. Moreover, this wastage of human resources violates some of our most basic values -- that everyone should be able to develop his talents fully and should make a full contribution to the total betterment of society.

There are also those who see in education part of the solution to our civil rights problems. They may not be too sanguine about the potentials for education to quickly reduce prejudice and discrimination directly. But they recognize that once law has lowered barriers to equal opportunity, education takes on great importance in preparing persons to make use of this opportunity.

Census statistics indicate that improved education for young people has been a general fact for many years. Table I-1 shows that median years of education completed rises steadily with decreasing age of cohorts. Persons over 75 in 1960 had a median education of just about eight years, as compared with a median of more than 12 years for those 25-29. When the population is divided by sex and color, the same trend appears for each group.

This does not necessarily mean, however, that the problem of poor education in the United States is diminishing. Aside from the question of whether the average educational level is rising as rapidly as the need for higher training, there is the obvious evidence of large numbers of persons not achieving sufficient education for today's job opportunities. And specific subgroups in the population may not have benefited -- or not benefited fully -- in the general rise in educational attainment. Table I-1 indicates that Southerners, and especially Negroes, are below the national median on education. The gap may be closing, at least for whites, but the Southern region still constitutes an area where the level of educational attainment is below the national level.

It is to part of this general problem of educational deficiency that the present study addresses itself. We shall be seeking to discover and to interrelate some of the factors which determine the degree of educational planning and amount of schooling to be completed by adolescents -- those in the ninth through twelfth grades. Our focus is on the South, partly because of the greater magnitude of the problem in this region, though we would hope that some of our results could be generalized to adolescents elsewhere. With the large amount of migration and planned migration from the South,[1] especially of the Negro population inadequate education in this region becomes a serious problem in other sections of the country as well. We will pay special attention to the education of Negroes, since they, as a group, stand especially far below the national median of education completed, and because many of the problems resulting from low education are particularly acute for this group.

Although the main focus of our interest is on Negro youth, we have included in our study a sample of white adolescents. This has been done partly to provide base-lines against which the data on our Negro subjects can be evaluated. We also wish to see if the same factors operate in determining educational plans of white and Negro students, though they may operate in different ways and to different degrees.

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[1] Unpublished manuscript by Cramer and Bowerman. The reader will note that the present report does not generally refer to other related studies. Its purpose is to summarize the findings of the research at hand, with references to relevant literature to be included in several projected articles and a possible monograph later on.

Among the questions we are asking are these: Just what is the level of educational attainment expected by high school students at the present time? What are the race and sex differences in educational plans, and how can these be accounted for? What are the factors that cause some adolescents to plan to go to college, others to expect only to finish high school, and still others to anticipate the possibility of dropping out before high school graduation?

These questions are not new, and we would not expect our answers to be totally new either. Such factors as intelligence, social class background, parental encouragement, peer influence, and general achievement orientation have been considered before as determinants of educational aspirations and achievement. We may explore some new determinants, but we particularly want to contribute a sense of the relative importance of several types of influence and of their differential effects on the several race-sex groupings. By studying a relatively large sample from one section of the country, we hope not only to advance the development of theory, but also to provide empirical evidence that may be useful in practical educational planning and administration.

Research Methods

The major interest leading to this study was in the educational planning of Negroes, since they stand out as an especially disadvantaged group in the South. In selecting a sample of youth for study, we therefore attempted to assure a broad representation of the Southern Negro high school population. A smaller sample of white students was obtained because we wanted a basis with which to compare the data on Negroes, and because of interest in the white students in their own right -- to our knowledge, no other large-scale study had looked at educational aspirations and plans of Southern Negroes or whites.

Three criteria were established for maximizing variability within the sample.[2] First, recognizing that great differences exist between parts of the region, we wanted to have respondents from several states and, especially, to sample from both the Deep South and the Upper South. For the latter, the states of Virginia and North Carolina were selected. Tennessee had been considered before Virginia, but was found not to have enough variation in the other criterion variables being used. Data from the two Upper South states were expected to reflect the thinking of high school students in areas of relatively greater opportunity, at least for Negroes. The choice of North Carolina and Virginia was also one of convenience to the researchers, since the major base of operations was Chapel Hill, North Carolina -- rather far removed from such other "Upper South" states as Texas, Arkansas, and Florida.[3]

---

[2] While such an approach does not necessarily provide accurate estimates of how prevalent particular characteristics are in the population, this does facilitate the examination of relationships among variables. (Relationships among variables can appear only when there is variation within variables.)

[3] This convenience became one of practical significance later, when time and financial considerations were to limit the extent to which follow-up data on respondents could be gathered. Proximity allowed much more follow-up in these two states than would have been possible otherwise.

From the Deep South, Alabama and Mississippi were included in the sample. With our primary interest in Negroes, these states seemed like "naturals," because of their reputations as places where Negroes are most likely to be disadvantaged. Thus, if state of residence makes any difference in the educational aspirations and expectations of Negro youth, the choice of Alabama and Mississippi to go along with North Carolina and Virginia should give us a wide scope of coverage within the South.

Attempts were also made to diversify the sample in two other ways, besides state of residence. These were along the dimensions of (1) degree of urbanization in an area and (2) the general level of educational performance of Negroes in the area. The former seemed a crucial variable to be considered, because of the strong possibility that it was associated with differences both in educational opportunities and in chances for exposure to proof of the advantages of education. The latter variable had been measured and used extensively in the first phase of this research by the authors; and it was deemed necessary to build in insurance that our sample would not be predominantly from areas of either generally high or low educational performance. Because data for each of these last two criterion variables were most easily obtainable for such an area, the primary sampling unit for the study was the county.

The basic design originally, then, was to sample all Negro high school students (9th to 12th grade) in one county of each kind shown in Diagram A, at the end of this chapter. Since the educational performance criterion for selecting counties had direct pertinence mainly for Negroes, in selecting the sample of whites the main care taken was to make sure that both urban and rural whites from both the Deep and Upper South were represented in adequate numbers for analysis. If whites had been sampled everywhere that Negroes were included, the sample would have been over double its final size, with whites having more than a 2-to-1 majority. Actually, more Negro than white youths were included (10,274 to 5,604) -- reflecting our primary commitment to studying the former.

Table I-2 lists the counties selected for inclusion in the study, along with certain descriptive characteristics. In all, 17 counties were chosen -- one of each kind indicated in Diagram A, with a double entry to represent the North Carolina low-urban, high-performance counties to compensate for small individual population size. None of the counties could be considered among the major metropolitan areas in the South. To have included communities any bigger than 100,000 would have enlarged the sample beyond the size we could handle, as well as introducing other possible sources of variability. Still, we are satisfied that we have obtained sufficient variation along the rural-urban continuum.

In the months of October and November, 1963, personal visits were made to school authorities as we sought permission to gather data from high school students in the selected counties. The response was extremely gratifying. Cooperation was obtained from at least one school district in each county. This made it unnecessary for us to move on to counties that had been named as somewhat less desirable alternates.

Altogether, the selected counties contained 32 school districts, and superintendents in 26 of these consented to have their students studied. Of the other six, four refused because they did not wish to disrupt the regular school schedule. In interests of efficiency, two other districts were not even contacted, since the very small size of their Negro populations meant that their exclusion from the sample could have only negligible effect on results. Table I-3 shows the actual number of schools and students sampled, by type of county. Approximately 85 to 90 percent of all Negro high schoolers in the selected counties were included in the actual sample, with the percentage of whites participating about 20-25 percent.

It should be noted that these percentages are based on the number of enrolled students in these counties and not on the total population of high school age. Our sample does not include those in the age group who had already left school before the time of our data collection.[4] Thus, perhaps a quarter or more of the high school age population is not covered in our study. The percentage, of course, is somewhat lower for the upper grades and somewhat higher for those of ninth and tenth grade age. Also, the percentage lost is somewhat higher for Negroes than for whites. This exclusion means that we start off with a bias in favor of greater educational commitment and interest than exists overall in the areas sampled. Still, it is expected that we will find enough variation in academic plans and motivation among the high school students to permit identification of factors contributing to the entire range of such variation.

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[4] Another potential sampling problem, that of enrollment in private schools, was minimized by our fortuitous selection of counties with very small non-public school student populations.

The only research instrument feasible for our study was the self-administered questionnaire. No other means can be used to obtain the large quantity of information we desired from such a large sample size as we intended. It was in the winter and spring of 1963 that we began construction of the questionnaire for the study.

Two North Carolina locations were selected for pretest in the spring of 1963: completely rural Jones County and the small city of Kinston (population of about 25,000), both in the eastern part of the state. Three schools -- two exclusively for Negroes and one all-white at the time[5] -- were included in the pretest; the number of respondents was about 950.

In developing the pretest questionnaire, so many different types of information were thought worthwhile that we soon collected a list of questions that would have required considerably more time in answering than we could generally expect to have at our disposal. In order to try out all of these questions and to test alternate ways of presenting some items, we used three different versions of the questionnaire in the pretest. While many questions were common to all three versions, each was distinctive in at least some of the information it attempted to elicit. Selection of items for a single final questionnaire would depend on results from the pretest. As it was, each Jones County and Kinston respondent was presented with a mimeographed questionnaire of about 20 pages in length. Average completion time was about 45 minutes -- very close to the average time we were aiming for in the final questionnaire. Needless to say, quite a bit of analysis and editing was required between the pretest and the actual survey.[6]

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[5] There was no school desegregation in the pretest communities in 1963, nor was there more than the barest of token integration in any of the places included in the final sample at the time of our data collection. For this reason (and because we wished to avoid any possible controversy), no question was asked on race in the questionnaire. School identification was enough to identify race in all but about 10 or 12 cases in the entire sample of nearly 16,000.

The final instrument was a 12-page printed questionnaire consisting of about 160 items, of which all but about a half-dozen were of the fixed-alternative, check-list-response type. It was expected that the bulk of students could complete the questionnaire in less than one hour -- the amount of time we were requesting (as a minimum) from school authorities. Appendix A contains the final questionnaire.

Data collection began in November of 1963, with almost all of the North Carolina and Virginia sample obtained by the end of that month. Three schools were not covered until December, with a final one added in January, 1964. The method of operation here was usually for staff members[7] to make one- and two-day forays from Chapel Hill; the normal coverage was one or two schools per person per day.

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[6] In this regard, two research assistants who worked on the project during the summer of 1963 deserve special mention: Reginald McLemore, then a rising senior at The College of William and Mary, and Miss Penny Stenbo, who had just graduated from the same college.

[7] Most often these were Cramer and research assistant Satoshi Ito. Bowerman, who had been primarily responsible (along with Cramer) for getting permission from school authorities in these two states, was also involved in the data collection at several places. In addition, graduate students John Hofley and Charles Longino assisted in at least one location apiece.

The Alabama and Mississippi part of the sample was netted in December during a 16-day period when two Chapel Hill staff members[8] made a tour of these states, lasting just about up to Christmas school recess.[9]

It would be instructive to describe the typical procedures used in data collection: The researchers usually began their visit to a school with a brief meeting with the teachers, generally before the start of classes in the morning. Purposes of the project were summarized and instructions were given to the teachers on how to administer the questionnaire to their students -- usually those in their homeroom or first-period classes. The teachers had not previously been informed about the project by their principals, except for being told not to schedule anything else during the "testing" period. The principals had acted in this way at our request to insure that individual teachers would not feel threatened by the survey or be motivated to prepare their students to make a "good impression." The principals, all apparently sincere in their desire to aid the project because of its potential value to them as educators, were quite willing to cooperate in this effort not to broadcast our purpose beforehand. We agreed that comparisons would not be made between identified schools and that the analysis would look for overall trends rather than descriptions of single schools.

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[8] These were Cramer and Ito.

[9] Campbell, at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, came down to give assistance in two Alabama communities. He had earlier done the work of lining up permissions from the various Alabama and Mississippi school officials involved.

The teachers were instructed to tell their students that the school was participating in a region-wide survey of student attitudes and plans for the future. They were to stress that the questionnaire was not a test and that the students could answer freely without fear that their responses would be read by anyone at the school. Teachers were not to help students in filling out the answers, and were not to answer any questions about meanings of items. Students were told to skip any questions they just couldn't understand.

Attached to the questionnaire was a card to be filled out by the student to identify his questionnaire for possible follow-up purposes. This card, which had a number matching the questionnaire number, was to be detached from the questionnaire before the student began filling it out. All of the cards were to be collected immediately and placed in a sealed envelope (the same procedure to be followed with the questionnaire at the end of the period), so that students could be sure that identification of responses would not be done by teachers.

In general, the conditions under which the students filled out their questionnaires were those of the regular classroom testing situation. While this permitted some variation from classroom to classroom, there was really no alternative. Many schools did not have any adequate single location where all of the students (or even large groups) could come at once to work on the questionnaire. The one central meeting place in many of the schools was a "gymtorium," where seating was either in bleachers or in armless folding chairs. In neither case were there facilities for comfortable writing.

The advantage of having all students take the questionnaire together would have been that the researchers could have maintained greater control over test-taking conditions. We could have given the instructions ourselves without the possible error introduced by having teachers act as "middle men." On the other hand, there were certain benefits that were gained in using the individual classrooms, and, in the balance, we are satisfied that we had generally good conditions for gathering valid and reliable data from our respondents. Foremost among the advantages to us in using the teachers to collect the data was that students could sense a more direct involvement of their school with the survey operations. This seemed important especially in the case of Negro students; we hoped that this would compensate for any possible biases introduced by the fact that none of the research staff was a Negro.

During the time when the questionnaires were being filled out, the staff member directing operations would travel through the halls of the school, stopping into rooms once in a while (or peering in through open doors) to observe how things were going. What he saw was usually satisfactory, although in a few cases conditions were observed to be far from the ideal. Perhaps the most common problem was overcrowding in the classroom, with the result that students were more easily distracted and, occasionally, were tempted to look at their neighbors' responses. The most extreme case of this was in one school where the furnace had broken down and all of the students were huddled into less than half the classrooms, where makeshift heating equipment had been installed. But in this situation, as in those less potentially disruptive, nearly all of the students appeared to be working diligently and seriously on the questionnaire. In large measure, we may attribute this to the intrinsic interest that the questions held for the respondents. But in addition, those who worked in the data gathering came away with a great appreciation of the fine cooperation that school personnel -- from superintendents to students -- gave the project with no immediate reward promised in return.

Besides serving as a roving observer during the time when students were completing the questionnaires, the project staff member(s) also used the time to obtain certain other pieces of information about the participating schools from the principal or some other knowledgeable official. This background material would help interpret the questionnaire data and facilitate follow-up efforts. Facts were sought on course offerings, physical facilities in the school, counseling services, and kinds of standardized tests (ability and achievement) used, if any.

The time allotted for the questionnaire completion varied from slightly less than one hour in a few schools to as much as 75 minutes. In those cases where the principal allowed us flexibility in timing, we asked teachers to impose a maximum time limit of 75 minutes in their classrooms. In all cases, questionnaire packets were collected from the individual classrooms immediately after the testing period.

Sometimes we were able to use the school intercom system to synchronize the test-giving throughout the school. But overall, we cannot claim to have had a standard amount of time provided for students taking the questionnaire. Nevertheless, the degree of questionnaire completion still serves as a useful measure of the test-taking interest or aptitude of respondents, as will be seen in the next chapter.

One other aspect of the data collection needs to be mentioned briefly. This has to do with some first follow-up efforts in the spring and autumn of 1964. Tabulation sheets were prepared in triplicate containing the names of all student participants in the survey. Each school was mailed lists of its students in mid-March and asked to provide us with some additional information on them, if possible. The types of information requested included ability test scores, achievement test scores in English and math, overall grade-point average, absentee record up till March 1, and record of participation in music and sports activities at school. Since only a token payment could be offered to the schools for the secretarial services involved, we did not anticipate an overwhelmingly favorable response to our requests for new information. However, we did encourage the schools to send us even part of the information if they could not send it all. By the end of the academic year, we had received at least some of the desired information from 21 of the 52 participating schools.[10]

In the fall of 1964, new follow-up information was sought on what the respondents were doing one school year after answering our questionnaire. Were they still in school -- in the next grade or retained in the same grade as last year? Had they gone on to college? Or had they dropped out? This information was considered crucial for validating our measures of educational plans -- to find out whether students were following the paths they said they were planning to follow less than a year before. It was decided not to risk a biased 50 percent return rate by seeking these data through a mailing. Instead, return visits were made to all of the North Carolina and Virginia schools during a three-month period ending in January 1965.[11] The information on "current educational status" (CES) of respondents was thereby obtained for nearly all of the North Carolina and Virginia sample. At the same time, many of the gaps were filled in the additional information previously requested on these students (on test scores, absence record, etc.). The final tally showed 31 schools providing at least some of the data sought in the first spring follow-up, and 21 schools supplying the CES data that was the primary purpose of the fall 1964 follow-up.

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[10] Actually because of assorted problems (e.g., lost name cards and, in one case, the destruction of a school by fire), five schools were not contacted in this mailing. Thus, the positive response rate was a fair 45 percent.

Method of Analysis

The processing of data on nearly 16,000 high school students is a major task. Even with most questions precoded, it took several months to edit the questionnaires and to code those few items that had been left open-ended.[12] The data were then put onto punch cards and, eventually, onto computer tapes for use on the UNIVAC 1105 facility at the University of North Carolina. UNIVAC was used for most of the mechanical analysis of the data, although some preliminary runs (to explore hypotheses and to construct indices) were done with a subsample of cases on an IBM 101 machine.

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[11] Financial, time, and manpower limitations precluded similar efforts in the other two states.

The major steps in the analysis to be covered in this respect are these:

(1) Examination of the distribution of cases by type of county for a few of the more important variables in the study. We used several indices of county type in drawing up the sample in the first place, and we need to know how much of the variation in the sample is associated with state of residence, degree of urbanization, and educational performance level of Negroes in the county. To the extent that respondents differ in significant degrees by type of county, we would have to consider controlling for this variable throughout the analysis, even though this would complicate the analysis. The data in Table I-4, comparing county types on selected variables for Negro males, are enough to satisfy us that respondents do not differ as expected by type of county. Instead, we find in other comparisons that there

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[12] Acknowledgement for assistance during this phase goes to several part-time assistants: Mrs. Gerald Bell, John Hofley, Miss Susan Little, Mrs. Hallowell Pope, Peter Range, Miss Sharon Rice, and Mrs. Mark Watkins. Satoshi Ito did much of the more difficult coding and also helped in the supervision of the other coders.

is much greater variation within the various types of counties than between them. Thus, we feel it legitimate to drop the control of county type.

(2) Construction of an index of educational plans, the main dependent variable, and an overall look at the distribution of respondents on this index. This is discussed in Chapter II.

(3) Investigation of the relationships between the dependent variable and several other variables definitely decided on as controls. These included race, sex, scholastic ability, academic commitment, and school grades. This is also covered in Chapter II.

(4) Analysis of the relationships between the dependent variable and those factors to be considered the main independent variables of the study. In Chapter III, we look at the effects of certain background characteristics of respondents: socio-economic status, place of residence, family type, birth order, and number of siblings. Chapter V deals with parent-parent and parent-child interaction both in general and in contexts directly concerning education -- the expectations being that all kinds of family interaction can have their effect on the aspirations and planning of children. The influence of teachers is examined in Chapter VI, and Chapter VII discusses the relationship between educational planning and the academic record of older siblings. The influence of peers is discussed in Chapter VIII -- first with regard to the academic behavior and plans of close friends and, second, from the standpoint of the respondent's status and interaction with peers. A separate analysis is contained in Chapter IX concerning the relationship between educational planning and occupational aspirations and

expectations. In Chapter X a look is taken at how the general value and belief systems of students are related to their specific expectations about future education. Chapter XI combines several sets of predictive variables to see their joint effect, and, finally, the relationship between school planning and several school context variables is examined briefly in Chapter XII.

Diagram A

Typology of Counties Selected for Coverage

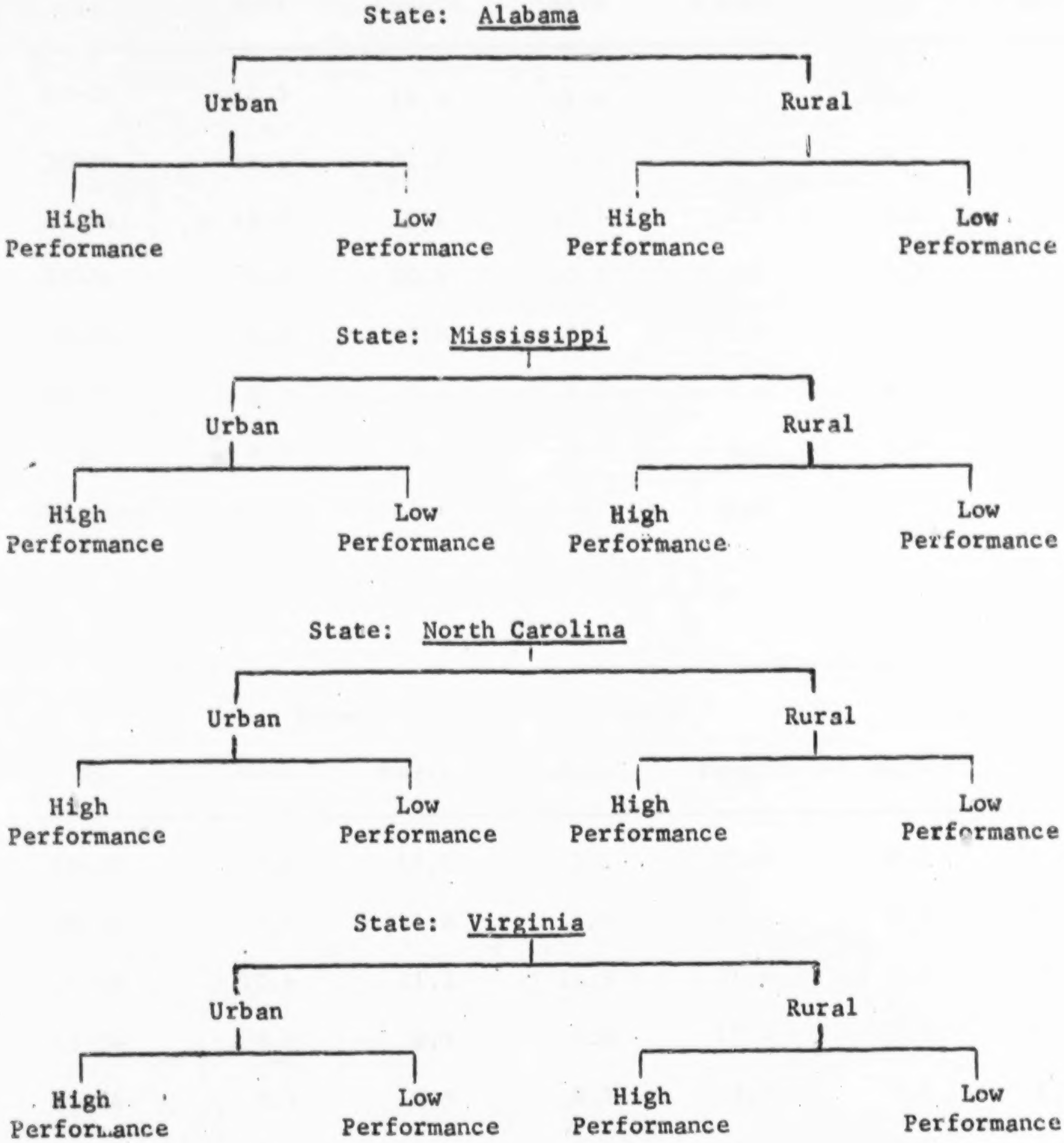
State: Alabama
Urban
Rural
High Performance
Low Performance
High Performance
Low Performance
State: Mississippi
Urban
Rural
High Performance
Low Performance
High Performance
Low Performance
State: North Carolina
Urban
Rural
High Performance
Low Performance
High Performance
Low Performance
State: Virginia
Urban
Rural
High Performance
Low Performance
High Performance
Low Performance

Table I - 1

Median Education, for United States and for Southern Region, by Color, Sex, and Age, 1960

Entire United States

	Total		White		Non-white	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
25-29	12.3	12.3	12.4	12.3	10.5	11.1
30-34	12.1	12.2	12.2	12.3	9.7	10.5
35-44	12.0	12.1	12.1	12.2	8.6	9.2
45-54	9.9	10.6	10.3	10.9	7.1	8.0
55-64	8.6	8.8	8.7	8.9	5.8	6.7
65-74	8.2	8.4	8.3	8.5	4.5	5.5
75+	8.0	8.3	8.1	8.4	3.7	4.4
All ages	10.3	10.9	10.7	11.2	7.9	8.5

South

	Total		White		Non-white	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
25-29	12.0	12.1	12.2	12.2	9.2	10.3
30-34	11.4	11.8	12.0	12.1	8.3	9.4
35-44	10.6	11.1	11.5	11.9	7.3	8.2
45-54	8.8	9.5	9.4	10.4	5.9	7.1
55-64	8.1	8.5	8.5	8.9	4.6	5.9
65-74	7.3	8.1	8.1	8.4	3.7	4.6
75+	6.6	7.7	7.5	8.2	3.1	3.8
All ages	9.1	9.9	10.0	11.7	6.4	7.6

Table I - 2

Counties in Survey, Along with Various Descriptive Characteristics

County	Negro Educational Performance	Percentage Urban	Percentage in Agriculture	Percentage Negro	Population (in thousands)	Name of Largest Community	Size of Largest Community
			Alabama				
Calhoun	High	55.5	2.7	18.8	96	Anniston	33,657
Conecun	High	20.8	19.6	45.5	18	Evergreen	3,703
Hale	Low	15.8	37.3	70.7	20	Greensboro	3,081
Madison	Low	63.9	8.6	18.8	117	Huntsville	72,365
			Mississippi				
Harrison	High	77.4	0.9	16.1	119	Biloxi	44,053
Jefferson Davis	High	0.0	36.1	54.8	14	Prentiss	1,321
Carroll	Low	0.0	51.1	58.2	11	North Carrollton	521
Washington	Low	67.3	20.5	55.2	79	Greenville	41,502
			North Carolina				
Gaston	High	61.8	1.6	13.1	127	Gastonia	37,276
Pamlico*	High	0.0	23.7	36.7	10	Bayboro	545
Perquimans*	High	0.0	33.0	46.9	9	Hertford	2,068
Greene	Low	0.0	62.5	50.3	17	Snow Hill	1,043
Pitt	Low	42.8	29.0	43.6	70	Greenville	22,860
			Virginia				
Roanoke	High	78.6	1.1	12.7	159	Roanoke	97,110
Amelia	High	0.0	37.3	51.3	8	Amelia	----
Charlotte	Low	0.0	35.2	39.9	13	Drakes Branch	759
Prince George	Low	46.9	4.4	15.2	38	Hopewell	17,895

*Selected jointly to represent rural-high performance counties in N. C.

Note: All data in this table are derived from U. S. Census statistics for 1960, with the exception of "performance level" which was calculated by the researchers from various state and county educational reports.

Table I - 3

Number of Schools and Number of Students
in Sample, by Type of County

State and Type of County	Negro Schools		White Schools	
	Number of Schools	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Number of Students
ALABAMA	11	2681	3	502
Urban	4	1518	0	0
High Performance	3	1079	--	--
Low Performance	1	439	--	--
Rural	7	1163	3	502
High Performance	3	513	3	502
Low Performance	4	650	--	--
MISSISSIPPI	10	2854	6	990
Urban	6	2089	4	543
High Performance	3	557	1	230
Low Performance	3	1532	3	313
Rural	4	765	2	447
High Performance	2	501	2	447
Low Performance	2	264	--	--
NORTH CAROLINA	10	3139	3	1973
Urban	7	2163	2	1448
High Performance	4	1161	2	1448
Low Performance	3	1002	--	--
Rural	3	976	1	525
High Performance	2	551	--	--
Low Performance	1	425	1	525
VIRGINIA	5	1600	4	2139
Urban	3	1131	2	1469
High Performance	2	979	1	550
Low Performance	1	152	1	919
Rural	2	469	2	670
High Performance	1	214	1	223
Low Performance	1	255	1	447
ALL STATES	36	10274	16	5604
Urban	20	6901	8	3460
High Performance	12	3776	4	2228
Low Performance	8	3125	4	1232
Rural	16	3373	8	2144
High Performance	8	1779	6	1172
Low Performance	8	1594	2	972

Table I - 4

Selected Information for Negro Males, by Type of County

Type of County	Academic Commitment Scale-Average Score	Percentage Definitely Intending to Graduate from High School	Percentage Definitely Planning to go to College	Percentage with B- or Better Grades	Percentage Preferring to Stay in School Rather Than Quit for a "Good Job"	Percentage Enrolled in 11th & 12th Grades
North Carolina Urban High	5.4 (542)	76.1 (546)	35.2 (545)	58.7 (521)	52.0 (555)	37.2 (555)
North Carolina Urban Low	5.1 (411)	77.8 (420)	24.0 (404)	33.0 (399)	49.4 (417)	37.8 (420)
North Carolina Rural High	5.5 (252)	76.4 (255)	29.6 (246)	58.4 (248)	57.0 (256)	41.0 (256)
North Carolina Rural Low	5.9 (184)	75.5 (188)	24.6 (183)	53.7 (173)	50.2 (191)	39.2 (191)
Virginia Urban High	4.7 (464)	81.5 (467)	27.8 (460)	18.4 (439)	48.7 (469)	42.9 (468)
Virginia Urban Low	5.1 (69)	81.1 (68)	24.6 (69)	27.2 (66)	53.6 (69)	36.2 (69)
Virginia Rural High	5.9 (95)	81.2 (96)	23.9 (96)	17.9 (89)	44.3 (97)	37.1 (97)
Virginia Rural Low	6.2 (89)	92.1 (89)	20.2 (89)	26.1 (88)	55.0 (89)	43.8 (89)
Alabama Urban High	5.7 (516)	83.0 (525)	31.1 (520)	31.6 (509)	50.5 (530)	37.9 (532)
Alabama Urban Low	5.7 (174)	75.1 (173)	36.4 (173)	27.9 (168)	49.1 (175)	47.7 (174)
Alabama Rural High	6.4 (201)	79.3 (208)	32.1 (202)	44.0 (205)	61.0 (213)	46.4 (213)
Alabama Rural Low	5.8 (257)	70.4 (261)	36.1 (260)	45.6 (219)	52.8 (263)	36.1 (268)
Mississippi Urban High	5.3 (261)	79.2 (265)	42.2 (263)	46.7 (246)	50.5 (267)	41.7 (268)
Mississippi Urban Low	5.8 (733)	83.5 (741)	43.7 (727)	33.4 (697)	55.7 (745)	35.9 (746)
Mississippi Rural High	5.8 (200)	68.9 (206)	45.3 (205)	32.5 (178)	41.7 (213)	39.8 (211)
Mississippi Rural Low	6.1 (79)	57.6 (85)	32.9 (85)	12.6 (79)	48.2 (87)	25.8 (89)

Table I - 4 (Cont.d)

Selected Information for Negro Males, by Type of County

Type of County	Percentage with Father's Education Below 7 Years	Percentage Who Have Crystallized Occupational Plans	Percentage Seeing Own Chances of Getting a Good Job as Relatively Poor	Percentage With No Friends Who Have Dropped Out of School
North Carolina Urban High	42.3 (338)	62.7 (542)	6.9 (532)	65.1 (384)
North Carolina Urban Low	54.9 (242)	63.4 (405)	9.0 (396)	69.1 (259)
North Carolina Rural High	45.9 (174)	61.6 (248)	4.8 (247)	67.3 (156)
North Carolina Rural Low	52.2 (132)	58.1 (184)	4.3 (182)	71.7 (124)
Virginia Urban High	29.9 (327)	67.6 (463)	5.0 (456)	69.6 (372)
Virginia Urban Low	55.3 (47)	71.0 (69)	2.9 (68)	74.5 (55)
Virginia Rural High	59.7 (62)	55.2 (96)	5.2 (95)	58.2 (79)
Virginia Rural Low	54.5 (66)	73.0 (89)	7.9 (88)	65.7 (73)
Alabama Urban High	45.1 (337)	70.6 (522)	6.9 (520)	70.7 (424)
Alabama Urban Low	42.3 (137)	69.0 (168)	4.1 (169)	62.3 (117)
Alabama Rural High	48.2 (143)	61.0 (208)	7.2 (206)	52.0 (123)
Alabama Rural Low	58.9 (146)	59.2 (260)	5.4 (257)	54.8 (166)
Mississippi Urban High	36.4 (159)	64.8 (262)	4.6 (258)	75.0 (172)
Mississippi Urban Low	49.1 (466)	69.6 (724)	4.8 (720)	65.1 (543)
Mississippi Rural High	37.8 (140)	61.3 (212)	9.3 (203)	55.3 (132)
Mississippi Rural Low	46.0 (50)	45.1 (82)	6.5 (76)	53.8 (39)

CHAPTER II

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF EDUCATIONAL PLANS

Since the description and explanation of variations in educational plans is the primary purpose of this study, our first concern is to develop a measure of future educational plans that can be used throughout our analysis. Several items in the questionnaire deal with plans to finish high school and to continue education beyond high school. Since it would be too complicated to use these as separate items in analysis, we require a way of combining items into a single scale. Our basic assumptions are as follows: (1) if there is a high degree of consistency among responses to the several items dealing with educational plans, combination of item-responses into a single scale will reduce the amount of unreliability of classification of individuals by plans; (2) it is most important to classify those at the extremes of the scale accurately -- namely, those not planning to finish high school, and those going on to college; (3) the items in the scale should deal with plans and expectations, insofar as can be inferred from the questions, rather than with what students would like or prefer to do; (4) the scale should be based on a progressive screening -- i.e., only those assigned a high probability of finishing high school should be classified as having plans for education beyond high school.

In this chapter, we shall describe the construction of such a scale, and show its validation against other measures with which it should be related if the scale is to serve the purposes of this study.

Scaling procedure

A summary of the scoring system for the educational plans index is given in Table II-1. Subjects are first classified according to whether their responses indicate that they will probably not finish high school, probably will finish, and definitely will finish. Only the latter group is further divided by plans for post-high school education. The "probably not finish high school" group is made up of those who say, on question 39,[1] that they definitely or probably do not plan to stay in high school and graduate. Those saying "yes, probably" to this question are also included in group 1 if they are unsure of carrying out their plans, and also say they might drop out of school if they can get a good job. At the other extreme for the high-school-plans portion of the scale are those who say they definitely plan to finish high school, are very or absolutely sure of it, and will not drop out even if they can get a good job. With these three reinforcing bits of information, it seems clear that these students have made definite plans to finish. These students appear as scale groups 3 to 7, depending on post-high school plans. The intermediate group 2 are those who will probably graduate from high school, but who are distinguished from the more likely group in terms of their less positive response on one of the three screening items.

The first screening item for plans after high school is, "What kind of further training, if any, do you expect to get beyond high school?" If the response is that the student does not expect to get any, or expects technical training in the armed forces, he is classified as group 3 -- labelled "no further training." If the student checks, on this item, that he or she expects to get training at a beauty or barber college, nursing school, business or secretarial school, or an industrial relations center, the respondent is classified in group 4 -- "plans further non-college training." Only those checking this item for "regular college or university," or "junior college" are included in higher groups. Also put in group 3, however, are those who check "no" on question 62 ("Do you expect to continue your education or training after you finish high school?"), and those who say there is "no chance" or "not much chance" that they will really go to college (question 67), even if they have indicated such intentions for further training on the previous question.

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[1] See Appendix A for a list of questions contained in the questionnaire.

Group 5 is made up of those who check that they expect to get college or junior college training (question 63), think there is at least a 50-50 chance that they will go to college (question 67), but say (question 62) that they expect to continue their education only after working to make money, or being in the armed forces. Groups 6 and 7 both say they plan to continue their formal education immediately after they finish high school, the difference being that the "6's" say the chances that they will really go to college are "50-50" or "I'll probably be going," while the "7's" say "I'm definitely going."

As indicated above, students whose answers on the three questions dealing with high school plans place them in the first two groups are not scored on the questions about post-high school plans. Since the screening that is used to place students in scale groups 3 and above is fairly stringent, we are led to ask how many of the excluded students in groups 1 and 2 also indicate that they have plans for further education, even though their responses do not give assurance that they even firmly intend to complete high school. We might expect a certain amount of inconsistency, especially in the Negro sample, between high-school and later plans as a result of unrealistic expectations by and for some students, and as a result of response unreliability.

As a test of this, we tabulated, for approximately a one-eighth sample of the Negro subjects, the responses on the post-high school intentions portion of the scale for all three of the high school plans groups. Only two of the 39 Negro students in group 1 would have been placed in the "probably" or "definitely-going-to-college" groups, and 26 of the 214 in group 2 show the same inconsistencies. By contrast, 262 of the 1051 who had been classified as definite high school graduates are in groups 6 and 7 -- those with college plans. Not only does this indicate that the classification system used in this scale does not rule out many, if any, who are college potentials, but it suggests that the use of these six questions differentiates plans quite reliably, particularly between the extremes.

There are 963 students who did not give answers to all of the questions used in constructing the educational plans scale, so they are excluded from all of the analyses dealing with this measure. This exclusion affects about seven percent of the Negro males, and about five percent of the Negro females and of both sex groups of whites. Although the amount of bias introduced by this small a percentage would be minor in any case, examination of non-responses for the scale as related to a variety of other items such as grade in school, occupation of parents, and parental support for education shows little indication of any significant biasing effect from non-response.

The frequency distribution on the educational-plans scale is shown in Table II-2, by race and sex. Altogether, less than 18 percent of the students are classified in the two groups having the lowest possibility of graduating from high school, and, at the other extreme, about 26 percent indicate probable or definite plans to go on to college. One of our concerns, during the data-collection phase of the study, was that Negro students, in particular, might have a tendency to over-represent their plans, partly because they might think of such answers as expected in this situation, and partly because the Negro schools constantly stress education as a primary means of getting ahead in the world and improving their relative position. Our results here do not seem to indicate any such inflation of plans, however, since the proportion of Negroes with college plans is actually quite a bit lower than that of the white students -- perhaps accurately reflecting a reduced opportunity for college among Negroes. Sex differences, on the other hand, are relatively small, in the college-planning category, except for those who say they will "probably go to college," here there are more white males than females. At the other extreme, males are more likely than females to be in the most uncertain category for high school graduation, and the percentage of whites who are doubtful graduates is a little higher than that of Negroes of the same sex. Category 2 includes those who are probable graduates, but responses indicate that they are less determined than students in the upper five groups, so they may be expected in the subsequent analysis to be similar to the group 1 students; whether they continue or not will probably depend on the strength of pressures for or against continuing. At any rate, there are more Negro than white students, proportionately, in this category.

It is interesting that a fairly large percentage of girls plan to receive some kind of non-college training after completion of high school. Nursing and secretarial or clerical work are the main kinds of training mentioned. The much smaller percentage of male students in this category is due partly to differences in kinds of job opportunity, and partly because a good number of males indicate that they expect to be in the armed forces, and are, therefore, placed in group 3 -- no further training. This overlooks the fact that service training may have later carry-over for civilian occupations, but for our purposes it represents plans at a different level than for civilian non-college training.

Educational Plans and Scholastic Ability Level

As we mentioned in the previous chapter, forms were sent to all of the schools in our sample during the fall after questionnaire data were obtained, listing all of the students for whom we had a questionnaire, and requesting that scores on whatever scholastic ability or I.Q. test they had taken be entered for each student. Most of the schools complied with this request as well as they could, but many students had never taken such a test. Not only were the data incomplete, in the sense that some students had no such scores on their records or the schools did not furnish us with information, but there were other complications affecting use of the data we obtained. For one thing, several kinds of tests and different forms of tests had been used, making comparability of raw scores virtually impossible. Furthermore, tests had been given at different times -- for instance, one 10th grade group would have taken a test during their 9th year, but another would have had it in the 7th grade. We could also assume that there were differences among schools in method of examination, general levels of preparation for the test-taking skills involved, etc. We concluded, consequently, that the best basis for scoring students was to assign them a standard score based on the mean and standard deviation of test scores of students in their own grade and school, making the scores on this variable relative to their own school-grade group rather than to the total sample.

The relation between these scholastic ability scores and educational plans (EP) is shown in Table II-3. For this purpose, the lower two EP scores, 1 and 2, are combined. These are the students whose graduation from high school is doubtful or uncertain. At the other end of the scale, the two groups planning college immediately after high school differ only by degrees of certainty, and scores of 6 and 7 have been combined.

In spite of the difficulties in obtaining comparable scores on scholastic ability, the relationship between the standard scores and the index of educational plans is very high. In all four subgroups the proportion who are dubious high school graduates declines sharply with increases in ability, and relatively few of those with low ability plan seriously to go on to college. It will be noted that high school graduation is more probable for white students than for Negroes of the same sex and relative ability level. Males are also less sure about graduating than are females of the same race and ability level. But in general, a very large proportion of the potential dropouts are found among students in the lowest half of their classes with respect to ability. For example, 72 percent of the Negro males who were classified as doubtful finishers (code 1) are below the median of their classes in ability level, and 62 percent of those in code 2 (may graduate) are below the median. The comparable percentages for white males are 76 and 74.

At the other end of the educational plans spectrum the proportion planning to go to college, by our index, increases uniformly with increases in ability level. Differences between males and females of the same race are slight, within ability groups, but race differences are considerable. It is interesting that it is only at the higher ability levels that a considerable proportion of Negroes plan to go on to college, but for the white students, and particularly the males, a high portion even at the middle ability levels are making such plans. Within this plans category, however, the level of certainty increases with ability. The ratio of the "definite" to "probable" planners among white males increases from less than one for the middle two ability groups to better than two to one for the upper two ability levels, and a shift of similar magnitude takes place for the Negroes and for white females.

These data suggest several points. In the first place, since there should be some relationship between ability level and plans for continuing education, a degree of validation for our educational plans scale is provided. Accepting this, it is apparent that students face their educational futures with considerable realism with respect to academic ability needed for continuation. It is also apparent that relative ability level within school grade provides a standard for students; they are both aware of ability differences and accept their implications. On the other hand, educational plans are not to be thought of as entirely of recent origin, and the early bases of those plans may have provided a direction of student academic interest over the years which finds itself reflected in more recent tests of academic ability.

A further comment on the difference in relation between ability level and plans for Negro and white students is in order. In general, it is known that scores of Negro students on ability tests average somewhat below those of white students. In spite of the fact that the ability requirements in colleges which Negroes would typically plan to attend are probably somewhat lower on the average than those schools which the white students typically consider, it may be realistic for Negroes to have to be better in their class standings than white students in order to have college success. Compounding this tentative generalization is the fact that the job avenues for the college-educated Negro in the South may not be viewed as being as numerous as for whites, so only those with both college education and high ability can anticipate success. How much of this is apparent to students at the level we were dealing with, and how it influences their decisions, we cannot completely know, but possibly our later analysis will give us some clues on these matters.

Academic Commitment

In addition to the question about educational plans, five questions were included in the questionnaire for the purpose of obtaining a measure of the degree of commitment of students to academic matters. These items and the weights for response categories are as follows:

In general, what do you consider to be a satisfactory grade for you?

0 - I really don't care much
0 - Any passing grade
1 - Average grade is O.K.
2 - Want to be above average
3 - Among the best in the class

Do you really try to get good grades?

0 - Don't try
0 - Try a little
1 - Try quite a bit
2 - Try very hard

How interested are you in most of your schoolwork?

0 - Not at all interested
0 - A little interested
1 - Fairly interested
2 - Very interested

Do you ever feel that going to school is a waste of time?

0 - Yes, most of the time
0 - Sometimes
0 - Once in a while
1 - Never feel this way

How often do you finish your homework?

0 - Never
0 - Once in a while
0 - About half the time
0 - Most of the time
1 - Always

In deriving weights for the items, they have been simple scored by a Guttman scale format. Combinations of the response categories are made in such a way as to maximize the internal consistency of the items and maintain a spread of scores. The items form a quasi-scale with reproducibilities around 85 percent. With Cornell scoring and additional category combinations, a scale with a reproducibility over 90 percent could be formed. For our purposes, however, the simple scoring seems to provide sufficient discrimination and is easier to score by machine for this large number of cases.

The frequency distribution of the academic commitment scores as well as the relationship of this variable to educational plans is shown in Table II-4. The median commitment score is higher for Negroes than for whites, and the females within each race are higher than the males. The higher scores for Negroes could be due, in part, to a greater tendency for them to give the socially desirable answer, especially on tests under the auspices of whites. However, similar discrepancies do not show up in educational plans, although social desirability is present here, too. Also, since Negro dropout rates are generally higher than those for whites, a higher percent of the less interested may already have dropped out. Furthermore, the Negro schools have put on intensive campaigns to interest students in school, representing education as one of the necessary avenues to gaining success and rising above their present status. In view of the apparently realistic aspirations about finishing high school and going on to further training, we would be inclined to accept these latter interpretations of the Negro-white differences in commitment.

It is apparent from Table II-4 that academic commitment is closely related to educational plans. The differences in plans seem to be somewhat sharper for Negroes than for whites. Negroes with low commitment have a high percentage who are likely dropouts and a very low percentage with college plans. By contrast, whites above the lowest commitment scores have much lower percentages in the doubtful graduating group than do the Negroes. In other words, even with equal commitment, Negroes are less likely to be certain of high school completion. At the other extreme, at every level of commitment, except the very lowest, white students indicate greater expectations of going to college. It is interesting here that the percentage of Negroes expecting to go to college increases markedly only toward the higher commitment values, but for white students, and particularly for the males, college expectations are quite high even at the middle range of commitment. This may be a function of overall levels of expectation between the two groups. For Negroes, completion of high school, and especially going on to college, represents a considerable achievement, and more of a departure from group norms. Therefore, those who expect to go on to higher education have a higher sense of commitment to academic work. The obverse is undoubtedly also true, that those having more commitment are the ones willing to make such plans. Negroes may see a closer relationship between high school interests and performance than do whites. They are more likely to see the necessity of preparation, and they have already begun to separate themselves out in a different way of life and set of ambitions, for which they may take considerable pride. For the white student planning college, he may find the way easier, he is expected to go, and he sees less relationship between his high school performance and the possibility that he might be able to go on to college. Many of these inferences can be checked with our later data.

The strong relationship between academic commitment and educational plans holds when scholastic ability is held constant, as shown in Table II-5. Since data on scholastic ability are available only for a portion of the sample, the number of cases in some of the cells gets rather small. Yet it is clear that both scholastic ability and degree of academic commitment affect plans for completion of high school and going on to college. Looking first at the percent of doubtful graduates from high school, at each ability level a decrease in commitment brings an increase in the percent of those who may not graduate. These percentages increase also with decreasing academic ability, within each commitment level (reading the tables in the horizontal direction), but these differences are not as great as for commitment differences. In other words, it appears that the effect of commitment, holding ability constant, is greater on dropout tendency than is level of academic ability.

When we look at students whose college plans seem to be fairly firm, again it is clear that both commitment and ability level operate. At each combination of these two variables, we find a larger percentage of whites than of Negroes planning for college, and the percentage for white males is higher than for white females, partly as a function of the lower commitment rates of the males. The highest percentage planning college is, of course, found for students who are in the top group in both commitment and ability. A decrease of one category in commitment does not reduce this percent as much as a decrease in ability, but since the scales are different and the divisions arbitrary, no statements of the relative effect of these two variables can be made with the percentage differences being so small.

The most important generalization that can be made from this table is that both ability level and degree of academic commitment have an effect on educational plans, and that even controlling for these two variables, Negroes are more likely to be unsure of high school graduation and much less likely to be planning to go on to college, with sex differences within each race being fairly small. For the "most likely" category (i.e., those high on ability and commitment), only 36 percent of Negro males and 41 percent of Negro females plan to go to college, compared with 82 percent of white males and 76 percent of white females -- approximately double for the whites. Part of this difference may be due to the larger portion of Negroes in the high commitment category. (The category is, therefore, less select.) If so, and assuming that honest answers were given to the items making up the commitment scale, it would further confirm the notion that academic commitment for Negroes is geared more to the realization of high school level goals, while for white students it is associated with college level goals, whereas the realities of ability affect each about the same with respect to post-high school training.

Educational Plans and Grades in School

In another item in the questionnaire, students were asked to report their average grade in school during the previous year. Since grades in school reflect both ability and degree of commitment to school, the clear differences we find in Table II-6 are to be expected. For each race-sex grouping there is a strong positive relationship between grades and college planning and a strong negative relationship between grades and dropout potential.

One interesting comparison between males and females can be made. In Table II-2, we found that for Negroes, 21.6 percent of males and 20.2 percent of the females probably or definitely plan to go to college, and for whites these percentages are 43.5 and 36.1. When we compare males and females within each race in Table II-6, the percentage of males planning for college tends to be even more dramatically higher than for females, with average grades in school controlled. Apparently grades are not seen to be as important for males in achieving college goals, or they have the goals regardless of their grades because of greater expectations for males and the greater functional utility for them of a college education.

Although there is a fair relationship between scholastic ability level and average grades (as reported by subjects), there is considerable variation of grades within ability level, as shown in Table II-7. The relationship between grades and educational plans holds up, even with ability level held constant. The percentage of Negro males with low grades who are uncertain of graduation remains high regardless of ability level whereas those with high grades mostly expect to graduate even if their ability level is low. Grades may, in fact, be not only more salient but more valid as an indicator of ability to them. By comparison, white males in the high ability group say they are likely to graduate from high school even if their grades are low, and a fairly large proportion of these even plan to go on to college.

Average grades and degree of academic commitment are also related to each other (Table II-8), though there are many students high on one but low on the other. In comparing these "off-diagonal" cases for white and Negro students, for Negroes there are more than twice as many students with high commitment and low grades as there are students with low commitment and high grades. For white students, the difference is in the other direction and several times as great. We have noted before that the level of academic commitment is higher for Negro students, and this is true regardless of grades received. This may also be a function of a more select and more determined group of Negro students who have continued in school up to this point.

Looking at the joint effects of average grades and commitment on Negro males, those with low commitment have a high proportion of potential dropouts, regardless of average grades, while those with low grades and high commitment are much less likely to be in the low-risk categories. On the other hand, those with high grades have relatively high percentages planning on college, regardless of commitment, and those with low grades in school do not plan for college at any commitment level. Grades and commitment have different effects on different ends of the plans continuum, for the Negro males. Much the same pattern exists for Negro females, except that commitment has more of an effect on college plans for the high-grade group. With white students, grades and commitment seem to be about equally influential within each category of the other variable, and therefore have a more symmetric effect on educational plans.

Class in school

Besides academic ability, interest, and performance variables, there are some other factors whose association with educational plans needs to be examined briefly before we turn to variables of greater significance for our research. One of these is class in school. We want to know how much of the variation in educational plans may just be due to the composition of our sample with respect to school-class distribution.

The number of Negro students in our sample declines by about 35 percent from freshmen to the senior year, while the number of white students is fairly constant for all years. (See Table II-9.) However, it is not possible to make any statement about relative dropout tendencies from these figures. There is, of course, a certain amount of attrition in school enrollment before high school graduation and it is probable that this is higher for the Negro students. But at the same time, there is an increase in the number of people in the younger age groups, due to previous increases in number of births. Most important, however, is the fact that the sample was not collected in such a way as to permit reliable dropout estimates by comparing class enrollments. A few of our schools were senior high schools (grades 10 - 12), and we were not able to get all of the 9th-graders from feeder junior high schools. In others we got full coverage of only certain grades, because of absences of groups of students for class trips, yearbook photographs, etc.

What we can say from Table II-9 is that there is a considerable difference in educational plans from early to later years of high school, both with respect to intentions to complete high school and with respect to college attendance hopes. It is surprising that so many of the students in the middle of their senior year expressed completion doubts, but almost all of those are classified in our group 2 (probably graduate) rather than in the "definitely graduate" group because of their doubt about finishing school if offered a good job before graduation. For the younger ones, some will undoubtedly drop out later, and others may pick up added motivation as they go along. As one boy expressed it in an interview at the end of his junior year, "In a couple of weeks I'll have finished all but one year of high school. I've just sort of kept going because there wasn't anything else to do, but now I guess I might as well put in one more year and finish up."

In addition to the trends in Table II-9, our basic tabulation shows an increase as one goes on in school in the degree of certainty among those planning to go to college -- i.e., there is an increase in the ratio of those in plans category 7 to those in category 6.

Since scholastic ability scores were standardized within school and class in school, for those students for whom this information was available, there are only slight differences in the percentage of students in each grade in the high, medium, and low ability groups. Consequently, the relationship between educational plans and grade in school remains with ability level controlled, but not uniformly for all ability levels. Students at the low and medium ability levels in all four of our analysis groups show considerable decreases in the percentages of unsure high school graduates as they continue in school. For Negro males, these decreases are offset by an increase in those planning to graduate but not go on, while in the other three groups there are also increases, though small at these ability levels, in the percent going on to college. For Negroes in the upper third of ability level, educational plans are virtually the same for all four years of school, while for the upper ability level whites there are increases in the percent going to college with increasing years of school. In other words, the original relationship between class and plans is fairly similar in each of the ability levels of white students, with somewhat greater decrease in dropout tendency at the low ability level and more increase in college planning at the high level, while for the Negro students, the effect of the ability control is seen mainly at the lower ability levels.

The distribution of academic commitment scores is likewise almost exactly the same for all four classes in school for all four of our subgroups. However, in the relationship of educational plans to both academic commitment and class in school, the original increase in plans at advancing school class holds only for the medium and high commitment groups of Negroes, while there is little change in plans for those with low degree of commitment. For the white students, by comparison, plans are about the same at all four class levels for those with high commitment but increase by class for the lower two commitment levels. One interpretation of these race differences is that the white students having strong academic commitments know all through their high school career where they are heading, while those with lower commitment are most subject to selective factors that will affect later motivation, plans, and tendencies to quit school. For the Negroes, those at the lowest commitment level also "know" where they are going (i.e., not very far), and are less likely to shift plans as they progress through the school system. It might be somewhat too bold to suggest, as a result of this finding, that efforts expended by school personnel to influence students toward academic excellence and ambition would be most effective with the lower two-thirds of the white students and the upper two-thirds of Negro students in commitment to the educational process.

A Follow-up on Plans for Education

Earlier sections of this chapter have described our scale of educational plans and have shown how it is related to academic ability levels, degree of academic commitment, and grades in school -- measures of direct relevance to plans. The kinds of relationships we have reported permit considerable confidence in the validity of the educational plans scale for dividing students according to the nature and definiteness of their plans for continuing and future education. The best validation, however, is to be able to follow through and see what these students actually did. We had this opportunity for a portion of our original sample. Our questionnaire data had been collected in the 1963-64 school year; in the fall of 1964, we went back to the schools in Virginia and North Carolina which had been in our sample and asked them for information about the whereabouts of those students who had been covered in the questionnaire survey. Since we had names of students, we could make this a direct follow-up whenever schools had this information. The principals in the cooperating schools, with the aid of counsellors and teachers, were able to give us definite information on most of their last year's students. For students who had graduated, they recorded for us whether the student was known to have gone on to college or not to be in school. For the non-graduates, we were told whether the student had been passed to the next grade, retained in the same grade, or had dropped out of school. The whereabouts of only a few graduates was unknown, as was true for a small number of other respondents, most of whom were thought to have transferred to other schools. In general, though, we were surprised and pleased that such a very large percentage could be placed for us.

The tabulation of the results of this follow-up is shown in Table II-10. One thing is very clear; most of the students, and particularly white students, who went on to college had been able to anticipate this accurately before high school graduation. However, about a third of the Negro students who actually went to college were not certain of it the previous spring -- possibly because of doubts about admission, and possibly because of financial insecurities. The proportion of Negro graduates in this sub-sample going on to college was much less than that for whites (26.6 percent versus 56.9 percent), and was higher for white males than females (62.3 percent versus 51.6 percent).

Although some of those going on to college had not been sure that they would do so, relatively few of those who did not go on had planned on going to college. The implication here is that our measure showing those students who probably or definitely plan to go on to college after high school is conservative in that it is a bit more likely to exclude some who may go on then to include large numbers who do not, in fact, enter college right after high school.

Comparing the three groups who did not graduate, those who were not promoted are similar in plans to students who have already dropped out of school, while the ones who were promoted have a much larger percentage who plan to go to college and a smaller percentage who are doubtful graduates from high school. Differences between the white dropouts and students promoted to the next grade are considerable but among Negroes these two groups are relatively less differentiated in their plans.

Data for establishing the relationship between later educational status and ability are quite incomplete, since ability scores were available for only a portion of those for whom follow-up data were obtained. However, the expected relationship is shown for these smaller numbers, as a matter of interest, in Table II-11. Over half of the students who dropped out or were retained in the same grade were in the lower third of their classes, and relatively few were in the upper third. Conversely, over half of students going to college were in the upper third of their class in ability level. The numbers are too small to make much of a point of it, but there is a slight suggestion in the data that a larger proportion of higher relative-ability Negroes than of whites are not going on to college. Possible differences in group averages, if ability were judged on an absolute scale, might account for this, however.

The numbers are too small to make comparisons of earlier educational plans of students within these ability levels, but such comparisons as can be made show that earlier plans predict well, even with ability level controlled.

Turning to academic commitment, we find that this tends to be highest for the Negro females, even for those who dropped out of school or were not promoted (Table II-12). On the other hand, commitment to academic matters while in high school is relatively low for white males, regardless of next year's outcome. Even those who went on to college show relatively few with a high degree of commitment. This apparent relative disinterest in the academic process has been noted previously in this chapter, with reference to the male white students, so this result is consistent. White males who dropped out of school were particularly disinterested, or low in commitment, and, though the numbers are again rather small, the lower percent of low commitment for male Negroes raises questions about possible differences between the groups in the bases of plans and performance.

Differences in educational plans of students at various later status levels, as shown in Table II-10, hold up even when level of academic commitment is controlled. For example, three-fourths of the Negro males with high commitment and who went on to college had definitely planned for college, compared with one-sixth of those who graduated but did not go on to college. And among those with low commitment, almost 80 percent of the dropouts had been classified as "potential dropouts" in our scale of educational plans, as compared to just 44 percent of those who where still in school a year after the questionnaire survey. Similar results appear for the other race-sex groups.

An indication of how the two variables of plans and commitment operate together is seen in the fact that among Negro males who did not graduate, 31.2 percent of those with low commitment and low educational plans were either retained in the same grade or dropped out, compared with 9.5 percent in all other commitment and plans categories. The similar percentages for white males were 33.3 and 13.5. Since this "outcome" was over less than a year's time, and most of these students will still be in the risk category for another year or two, it looks as though these two variables may be fair predictors of which students will drop or not be advanced.

Degree of Questionnaire Completion

The final variable to be considered in this chapter is the degree of completion of questionnaire response. In editing the questionnaires, the number of pages completed by each respondent was noted, and also a count was made of the number of questions left unanswered which were relevant for that subject. The combination of these two items form the completion index, data for which are given in Table II-13. Although students taking the questionnaire were given between an hour and an hour and a quarter to complete it, we know that a number found it impossible to finish in this period of time, and others undoubtedly did not finish because of lack of interest. Not only would incompletion result in a lower number of cases for analysis of items later in the questionnaire, then, but certain biases might be expected to appear as a result of factors correlated with incompletion. These data are presented here partly to describe the extent to which the questionnaire completion task was fulfilled, and partly to give a rough notion of the type of bias that might be encountered in later analyses.[2]

The Negro males had the smallest percentage (65.9) completing all pages of the questionnaire. (The figures for the total sample are included for these percentages, since the N's in Table II-13, though almost as large, exclude subjects for whom the educational plans data were not available -- see Table II-2.) By contrast, 95 percent of the white females finished the questionnaire, and in between were 81 percent of the female Negroes and 86 percent of the male white students. Within this group of completers, there are still differences in the number of questions skipped. A little under half of all the Negro males who finished skipped less than three questions and a sixth of them skipped 11 or more. Seventy percent of the white females finished and skipped two or fewer questions, and another 22 percent finished and skipped 3 to 10. The other two groups were between these extremes.

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[2] Of course, we should note again, as we did in Chapter I, that some of the variation in questionnaire completion was due to variation in time allotted for filling it out. Still, the fact that the completion index does relate to other variables, as we are about to show, indicates that time allotment variations were not the crucial determinant of differences among students in degree of completion.

In looking over the entire distribution of cases on the completion index, in Table II-13, it is apparent that the tendency was to move toward completion, as far as they could get, with relatively few skips, rather than to skip widely in order to finish. The slower rate for Negro students is undoubtedly due to a difference in reading ability, coupled with the fact that some of the items may have been more puzzling and difficult for them to make up their minds about. In the classrooms we observed, both from within the room and in walking past in the hall, we got the distinct impression that students were taking the task seriously and working hard at it. We saw very few instances of levity, or expressions which would be interpreted as disinterest or disapproval.

To the extent that rate of completion is due to differential reading ability and comprehension, we would expect this to be reflected in educational plans. That this is so, can be observed in Table II-13. Within each of the sections for number of pages completed, educational plans are lower for students who skip questions, and there is some tendency for plans, especially for college, to be lower for those who did not complete all pages. It is consistent with earlier findings to suspect that differences by sex and race reflect general differences in educational plans.

These differences with respect to educational plans could be interpreted in terms of ability level or motivation. In Table II-14, even though the data for ability level are for only a portion of the sample (and a portion we have no reason to suspect is biased on this relationship), we see a definite relationship between ability and completion. With an increase in degree of completion, either pages finished or items skipped, we find a larger proportion of students in the lowest third of their class in ability level. However, in the other portion of the table, we see that even among students in the lower third of ability there is still an increase in percentage having lower educational plans as incompletions rise. Again we have the question, in attempting to interpret this result, as to whether incompletion is a function of both ability and aspiration level. If so, and there is a "disinterested" element, lack of completion could introduce a different kind of bias throughout the data. However, this can be mostly discounted by the data in Table II-15. Differences in academic commitment for students with varying levels of completion is slight, and the differences we find can be accounted for, most likely, in terms of the ability component we have noted previously in commitment.

In general terms, our interpretation of the effects of incompletion would be as follows: We have lost some data, and what we have lost is mainly on the last two or three pages of the questionnaire, where, anticipating this difficulty, we placed items least central to our study. Skipped items are scattered throughout, and are more likely to have been skipped by students of lower reading and comprehension ability. With the skipped items being relatively few in number and scattered, it will not affect our relationships appreciably. Any slight effect will be in the direction of emphasizing relationships that appear for the higher ability students. In the latter part of the questionnaire, this "ability-bias" will be a little more severe, and generalizations will be more appropriate for the higher level students, except for those instances where we can control for ability level, or suggest the effects of such controls from our partial ability data. We would conclude that the effects of incompletion are not serious, and that disinterest in either the questionnaire or in academic matters is not an important element in the incompletion. If it had been, it would have been a more difficult matter than the slight "ability-bias," which we have with us anyway.

Summary

In this chapter, we have introduced the key measure of the dependent variable of educational plans, as it is used in this report. We have attempted to demonstrate the validity of this measure by showing its close relationship to scholastic ability, academic commitment, school grades, and (perhaps most importantly) the educational status of the student one school-year after the measure of plans was taken.

It is found that the Negro students are less likely than whites to have serious college intentions and slightly more likely to be doubtful about graduating from high school. Girls are somewhat less represented among the "potential dropouts," but are not very different from boys in the proportion planning for college. A much larger percentage of girls express intentions of pursuing some sort of non-college post-high-school training, as in nursing, secretarial school, etc.

Before going on to more extensive examination of correlates of educational plans, we should make note of one procedural matter that has already been implied in this chapter. In most of the discussion thus far, we have focused on two groups of respondents: (1) those who are uncertain about graduating from high school -- the "potential dropouts," and (2) those who are seriously planning to enter college right after completing high school -- the "college planners." Each of these groups is a combination of two educational-plans scale categories. The potential dropouts are made up of scale groups 1 and 2, the definite school leavers and those who may graduate but who are not certain. Scale categories 6 and 7 comprise the college-planning group, differing only in their degree of certainty about college, but all definitely planning to go and seeing at least an even chance that their plans will be realized. The combining of categories occurred only after it was found that category 1 resembled category 2 in the way it related to other variables, with a similar resemblance appearing for categories 6 and 7.

The decision to combine, then, seemed an obvious move, since it provided larger subsamples with which to work, at the same time that it appears to cause minimal risk that key relationships under study will be obscured. In the analysis to follow, we shall continue to use these same two groupings of educational plans as our major centers of interest. In this way, we shall be looking mainly at those factors associated with either high or low levels of educational expectations. Less attention will be devoted to the intermediate group who are quite sure of finishing high school, but relatively poor prospects for college, since these are usually in the middle in a relationship and their results may be inferred from the other two groups.

Table II-1

Scoring for Educational Plans Scale

Scale Group	Description of Plans	Do you plan to stay in high school and graduate? (Q. 39)	How sure are you that you will carry out these plans? (Q. 40)	If you could quit school and get a job that paid $80. a week right now, what would you do? (Q. 41)
1	High school graduation doubtful	Definitely not/ probably not		
		Yes, probably	Not sure/fairly sure	Definitely take job/ would think seriously about it, and might quit school
2	Will probably graduate from high school	Yes, probably	Not sure/fairly sure	Probably or definitely stay in school
		Yes, probably	Very sure/ absolutely sure	
		Yes, definitely	Not sure/fairly sure	
		Yes, definitely	Very sure/ absolutely sure	Definitely take job/ might quit school
3-7	Will definitely graduate from high school	Yes, definitely	Very sure	Probably or definitely stay in school
		Yes, definitely	Absolutely sure	Probably or definitely stay in school

Table II-1. (Continued)

Scoring for Educational Plans Scale

Scale Group	Description of Plans	Do you expect to continue your education or training after you finish high school? (Q. 62)	What kind of further training, if any, do you expect to get beyond high school? (Q. 63)	What do you think the chances are that you really will go to college? (Q. 67)
3	High school graduation but no further training	No, I don't plan to		
		Yes, after working/ after armed forces/as soon as I've finished high school	Don't expect to get further training/ Armed Forces	
			College/Jr. College	No chance at all/ Not much chance
4	Plans further non-college training	Yes, after working/ after armed forces/ as soon as I've finished high school	Beauty or barber college/nursing school/ business school/ Industrial education center	
5	May go to college later	Yes, after I've worked to make some money/ Yes, after I've been in the armed forces	College/ Junior College	About 50/50/ I'll probably be going I'm definitely going
6	Probably will go to college right after high school	Yes, as soon as I finish high school	College/ Junior College	I'll probably be going
7	Definitely plans to go to college right after high school	Yes, as soon as I finish high school	College/ Junior College	I'm definitely going

Table II-2

Educational Plans, by Race and Sex

Race and Sex	High school graduation doubtful (1)	May graduate from high school (2)	Will Graduate From High School No further Training (3)	Will Graduate From High School Plans further non-college training (4)	Will Graduate From High School May go to college later (5)	Will Graduate From High School Probably will go to college right after high school (6)	Will Graduate From High School Definitely will go to college right after high school (7)	Total
Negro male	172 (4.0)	833 (19.3)	1331 (30.9)	714 (16.6)	330 (7.7)	546 (12.7)	382 (8.9)	4308 (100.1)
Negro female	109 (2.1)	815 (15.5)	352 (6.7)	2709 (51.4)	221 (4.2)	519 (9.8)	546 (10.4)	5271 (100.1)
White male	138 (5.2)	335 (12.6)	547 (20.6)	256 (9.6)	223 (8.4)	620 (23.4)	534 (20.1)	2653 (99.9)
White female	88 (3.4)	277 (10.5)	300 (11.4)	950 (36.0)	71 (2.7)	384 (14.6)	567 (21.5)	2637 (100.1)

Table II-3

Educational Plans and Scholastic Ability Level, by Race and Sex

Scores on Educational Plans Index*

Scholastic Ability Level in Standard Scores	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Under -2.5	7	-	-	3	-	-	34	32.3	17.6	23	26.0	17.4
-1.6 to -2.5	45	48.9	0.0	52	38.5	7.6	82	33.0	10.9	85	25.9	8.2
-1.1 to -1.5	158	34.8	9.5	176	25.0	7.9	168	26.2	25.0	186	17.2	15.1
-0.6 to -1.0	198	26.8	12.1	312	22.5	11.9	310	26.8	28.4	334	14.7	21.6
-0.1 to -0.5	210	21.4	12.9	285	20.5	12.3	290	20.0	34.2	299	17.3	27.4
0 to 0.5	224	22.8	19.6	252	12.7	18.6	302	14.3	52.7	300	11.3	41.4
0.6 to 1.0	184	18.5	22.2	208	11.6	27.4	267	6.8	64.4	279	7.5	54.2
1.1 to 1.5	94	10.6	31.9	101	6.9	32.7	157	5.7	66.3	168	4.2	70.8
1.6 to 2.5	62	9.7	46.7	80	10.0	43.8	107	5.6	72.9	77	5.2	70.2
Over 2.5	42	4.8	54.8	55	9.1	43.6	52	1.9	92.4	39	2.6	82.0

* Scores 1-2 refer to those uncertain about finishing high school; scores 6-7 refer to those probably or definitely planning to go to college immediately after high school.

Table II-4

Educational Plans and Academic Commitment, by Race and Sex

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Score on Academic Commitment Scale		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percen	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-
(Low)	0	38	76.4	0.0	26	96.2	0.0	65	76.9	0.0	14	78.5	0.
	1	95	71.6	3.2	44	63.6	2.3	166	45.8	16.9	55	60.0	7.
	2	172	48.2	9.3	91	47.3	4.4	275	31.7	17.1	127	36.2	11.
	3	333	40.5	13.2	249	41.3	10.8	432	22.4	32.1	264	28.8	22.4
	4	523	26.8	16.6	433	28.8	13.5	510	10.2	50.2	429	17.7	26.
	5	694	23.3	18.5	701	20.6	15.9	427	13.4	47.5	442	11.3	32.
	6	826	17.0	24.2	994	18.9	19.0	373	8.3	55.5	452	6.4	38.7
	7	803	16.4	26.9	1171	11.1	23.3	224	4.0	67.4	407	6.9	46.9
	8	529	11.4	28.6	1044	8.4	24.9	118	6.5	68.5	288	4.2	48.2
(High)	9	206	5.4	36.4	438	5.3	29.7	55	3.6	78.2	146	0.7	70.

Table II-5

Educational Plans by Academic Commitment and Scholastic Ability Level

Academic Commitment	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High (7-9)	128	17.2	14.1	149	9.4	22.8	151	10.6	36.4	236	13.6	12.3	283	7.4	19.1	261	6.1	40.6
Medium	176	37.5	0.0	218	22.9	15.1	190	10.0	32.1	246	26.4	9.8	212	18.9	12.3	157	12.7	22.3
Low (0-3)	75	54.7	1.3	59	45.8	6.8	39	41.0	15.4	53	64.1	1.9	39	43.6	2.6	24	33.3	29.2
	White Males									White Females								
High (7-9)	49	14.3	55.1	72	5.6	65.3	136	1.5	81.6	146	6.2	25.3	152	3.9	47.4	250	2.8	76.0
Medium	264	18.6	32.2	309	9.7	50.8	306	3.3	73.9	332	14.8	16.6	233	15.9	48.1	254	5.1	56.7
Low (0-3)	278	38.8	11.5	204	31.9	25.5	139	15.8	46.0	145	33.8	11.0	111	38.7	18.0	56	23.2	33.9

Table II-6

Educational Plans and Average Grades in School, by Race and Sex

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Average Grades in School	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
F	30	56.6	3.3	9	-	-	44	45.5	20.5	21	47.6	4.8
D	222	47.3	5.9	154	37.3	4.5	180	53.3	11.7	88	39.7	3.4
C-	414	33.6	10.4	319	26.0	8.7	317	25.2	24.3	165	28.5	9.1
C	865	26.8	14.5	931	21.9	12.7	623	21.7	31.9	555	21.4	13.7
C+	870	19.4	20.6	857	16.3	17.7	384	14.8	39.8	301	15.3	29.5
B-	516	18.4	29.6	619	17.8	19.9	230	7.4	53.0	258	13.5	36.0
B	599	14.9	30.9	1016	12.2	23.5	396	7.3	61.7	501	6.4	41.4
B+	370	11.3	33.8	689	10.6	30.4	220	4.6	74.6	344	6.1	56.3
A-	99	7.1	51.6	273	9.9	43.6	127	3.1	72.4	199	3.5	66.3
A	43	11.6	44.2	98	5.1	40.9	84	6.0	80.9	170	2.4	81.2

Table II-7

Educational Plans, Average Grades, and Ability Level

Average Grades in School	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
C-, D, or F	112	41.1	3.6	71	32.5	4.2	32	34.4	12.5	92	37.0	5.4	52	19.2	0.0	10	-	-
B-, C+, or C	198	31.3	10.6	243	19.8	17.7	170	14.7	29.4	294	21.1	9.5	266	15.8	13.9	147	16.3	21.2
B or better	68	20.6	16.2	105	16.2	23.8	174	8.0	38.5	116	19.8	17.2	208	10.6	21.2	281	5.3	40.9
	White Males									White Females								
C-, D, or F	190	38.9	14.2	114	35.1	26.3	42	14.3	38.1	127	26.8	4.7	47	34.0	19.1	10	-	-
B-, C+, or C	314	24.2	25.5	386	11.9	34.2	197	9.1	57.9	349	18.1	17.2	287	17.4	25.4	119	15.1	43.7
B or better	74	10.8	50.0	140	7.1	67.9	340	2.9	79.4	136	4.4	32.4	260	7.7	47.7	431	2.8	69.8

Table II-8

Educational Plans, Average Grades and Academic Commitment

Average Grades in School	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment			Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment		
	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7
C-, D, F	208	57.7	4.8	325	30.5	11.4	112	25.0	8.9	112	52.7	1.8	224	27.2	8.5	136	11.8	10.3
B-, C+, C	325	43.4	11.1	1152	20.1	19.8	738	14.8	25.6	211	45.5	10.0	1126	10.3	14.5	1038	10.6	19.7
B or better	58	41.4	29.3	433	15.0	30.7	606	8.1	37.6	54	46.3	16.7	641	17.8	25.3	1361	6.5	31.7
	White Males									White Females								
C- D, F	329	42.9	14.0	293	16.7	18.4	16	18.8	43.8	108	46.3	4.6	135	25.2	8.9	29	24.1	6.9
B-, C+, C	483	28.4	25.5	646	9.9	45.8	101	7.9	52.5	262	36.3	14.5	630	13.0	24.0	188	11.7	19.1
B or better	101	19.8	44.6	454	4.4	69.2	266	2.6	77.1	79	19.0	43.0	546	6.8	49.1	583	2.1	62.3

Table II-9

Educational Plans and Class in School, by Race and Sex

Class in School	Scores on Educational Plans Index											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Freshmen	1294	31.0	17.7	1554	21.2	15.9	709	26.8	33.4	670	19.7	32.6
Sophomores	1266	22.3	21.4	1508	19.2	19.0	722	21.5	43.5	730	15.2	34.1
Juniors	1070	20.4	22.3	1224	16.5	22.5	678	13.1	48.2	672	12.7	38.4
Seniors	737	14.7	27.7	977	10.4	26.3	543	7.2	50.8	565	6.5	40.0

Table II - 10

Educational Plans by School Status the Following Fall, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index (1963-64 School Year)

School Status (Fall, 1964)	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1 - 2	6 - 7		1 - 2	6 - 7		1 - 2	6 - 7		1 - 2	6 - 7
H.S. Grad., In College	67	6.0	68.6	102	7.8	63.7	218	2.3	85.3	182	0.5	84.6
H.S. Grad., Not in College	226	18.6	14.6	240	15.0	8.3	132	9.9	13.6	171	10.0	8.1
Same School - Promoted	1390	21.1	23.0	1755	16.2	19.7	1234	17.1	46.3	1291	11.2	36.2
Same School - Not Promoted	102	46.1	3.9	56	32.2	3.6	150	29.3	18.6	63	44.5	4.8
Known Drop-out	75	49.3	6.7	116	42.2	7.8	89	51.7	10.1	82	68.3	2.4

Table II - 11

Follow-up Educational Status and Ability Level, by Race and Sex

School Status (Fall, 1964)	Scholastic Ability Level											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		Low*	High**		Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
H.S. Grad., In College	28	10.7	53.6	42	5.2	63.1	160	14.4	52.5	147	21.7	44.2
H.S. Grad., Not in College	98	42.8	25.6	104	38.5	17.3	82	41.5	15.9	107	58.8	11.3
Same School - Promoted	895	30.9	32.3	1155	34.3	30.3	1065	29.7	36.3	1134	31.7	32.9
Same School - Not Promoted	57	45.6	17.6	29	62.0	6.8	125	61.6	12.8	49	71.4	4.0
Known Drop-out	44	50.0	15.9	61	57.4	13.2	57	63.2	12.3	51	62.7	13.7

*Scholastic Ability Level Score under -.5
**Scholastic Ability Level Score over +.5

Table II - 12

Follow-up Educational Status by Previous Academic Commitment

Score on Academic Commitment Scale

School Status (Fall, 1964)	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		Low*	High**		Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
H.S. Grad., In College	67	10.5	41.8	101	7.0	57.5	218	22.0	17.5	181	6.1	41.5
H.S. Grad., Not in College	224	21.0	23.7	237	12.3	44.7	131	51.9	6.9	171	26.9	19.9
Same School - Promoted	1375	14.2	35.1	1741	8.6	48.5	1284	31.5	17.1	1284	13.6	33.0
Same School - Not Promoted	100	32.0	26.0	56	25.0	26.8	147	52.4	4.1	63	58.7	15.9
Known Drop-out	74	35.2	16.2	113	18.6	31.9	89	62.9	6.7	82	37.8	14.6

* Academic Commitment Scale scores 0-3.
** Academic Commitment Scale scores 7-9.

Table II - 13

Educational Plans and Degree of Questionnaire Completion, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Pages Completed	Number of Questions Skipped	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1 - 2	6 - 7		1 - 2	6 - 7		1 - 2	6 - 7		1 - 2	6 - 7
All	0 - 2	1294	13.0	31.1	2479	12.8	26.6	1586	15.4	48.7	1869	13.4	38.6
All	3 - 10	1115	22.4	21.1	1418	18.3	15.9	565	18.7	38.6	575	13.7	31.3
All	11 or more	469	33.3	13.3	370	30.5	9.7	141	35.4	19.2	55	18.2	18.2
10 - 11	0 - 2	212	14.2	23.2	237	15.6	22.4	123	17.8	41.5	55	14.5	32.7
10 - 11	3 - 10	225	24.5	18.7	211	20.3	17.1	59	16.9	44.1	21	23.8	28.6
10 - 11	11 or more	142	41.6	9.8	78	27.0	5.1	16	31.3	25.0	3	---	---
4 - 9	0 - 2	315	23.1	20.3	197	19.8	10.7	107	19.6	31.8	36	11.1	25.0
4 - 9	3 - 10	400	35.8	11.8	220	32.7	11.8	45	28.9	40.0	15	46.7	13.4
4 - 9	11 or more	127	48.8	5.5	53	39.6	3.8	2	---	---	1	---	---

Table II - 14

Percent of Students with Low Ability and Low Educational Plans,

for Various Degrees of Questionnaire Completion

		Percent of Students with Low Scholastic Ability Scores (Under - 0.5)								Percent of Students with Low Scholastic Ability Who Had Low Educational Plans (Scores 1 & 2)			
		Negro Males		Negro Females		White Males		White Females					
Pages Completed	Questions Skipped	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	Negro Males	Negro Females	White Males	White Females
All	0-2	356	18.9	734	27.7	1046	28.7	1245	32.3	18.0	20.2	23.0	17.0
All	3-10	305	33.7	375	38.9	378	35.2	405	37.5	35.0	25.4	31.5	16.5
All	11 or More	109	46.4	98	46.9	85	52.9	41	65.9	36.0	39.2	44.4	11.1
10-11	0-2	78	18.0	91	38.5	87	34.2	35	42.9	14.4	14.3	36.8	26.6
10-11	3-10	72	33.3	73	41.1	42	33.4	15	72.4	29.1	20.0	7.2	--
10-11	11 or More	42	45.2	14	35.6	14	64.3	2	--	52.7	--	--	--
4-9	0-2	105	44.7	76	52.6	78	51.3	333	36.3	34.0	20.0	27.5	25.1
4-9	3-10	123	56.1	56	57.2	33	66.6	11	54.6	36.2	46.9	31.8	--
4-9	11 or More	31	48.3	7	--	0	--	1	--	60.0	--		--

Table II - 15

Percent of Students with Low Academic Commitment, by Degree of Questionnaire Completion

Pages Completed	Questions Skipped	Negro Males		Negro Females		White Males		White Females	
		N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
All	0-2	1286	12.4	2466	6.6	1577	34.7	1863	16.7
All	3-10	1100	15.7	1400	9.1	561	34.2	571	18.8
All	11 or More	445	19.8	353	9.9	138	42.0	52	21.1
10-11	0-2	212	11.4	236	8.5	122	37.8	55	18.2
10-11	3-10	222	11.8	204	6.9	59	30.6	21	28.5
10-11	11 or More	136	21.4	69	5.8	15	33.3	3	--
4-9	0-2	310	16.2	197	5.5	109	41.1	36	19.5
4-9	3-10	384	16.7	210	14.8	45	53.3	15	40.0
4-9	11 or More	115	20.0	48	6.3	2	--	1	--

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND VARIABLES RELATED TO EDUCATIONAL PLANS

In the preceding chapter, we have described how our sample is distributed on educational plans. We have found particular levels of expected educational attainment to be race- or sex-related, and that scholastic ability, academic commitment, and grades earned in high school are all good predictors of educational plans.

The remainder of this study will be concerned with an attempt to gain an understanding of some of the factors which account for at least part of the differences between groups in our sample and for the variability within these groups in educational plans. In later chapters, we will look at the effects of a number of kinds of influence on the adolescent and his plans for education, influences stemming from parents, teachers, siblings, and peers. We will also look at the effects of occupational plans and several general life-values and attitudes. Although we cannot expect to account completely for differences among adolescents in their plans for completion of high school or continuing into college, we will be able to demonstrate some of the kinds of influence operating under certain conditions, and to provide a basis for more understanding of some of the processes involved.

In this chapter, we shall be concerned with several descriptive "background variables" -- factors pertaining to the respondent's place in the social structure, rather than to his perceptions and behavioral experiences. Examined in this chapter for their relationship with educational plans are the following:

1) Several indices of social class
2) Place of residence (urban or rural)
3) Type of family ("broken" or "unbroken" homes)
4) Number of siblings
5) Respondent's place in the birth order

In our analysis we shall always control for race and sex. Also on occasion, we shall introduce the further controls of scholastic ability (SAL), academic commitment (AC), and grades. This will be to determine (1) how much the new variables account for plans over and above what is accounted for by these control variables (Figure 1), or (2) how much of the relationship between the control variables and plans is really explained by the effects of the new independent variables being introduced (Figure 2).

FIGURE 1

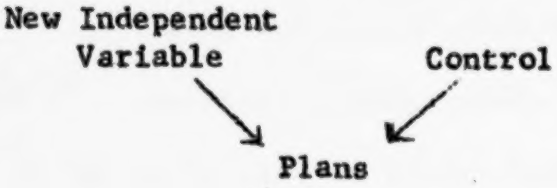
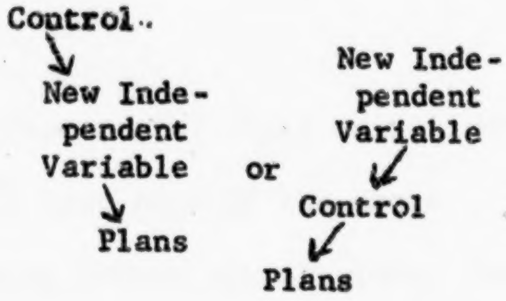

New Independent Variable
Control
Plans

FIGURE 2


Control
New Independent Variable
Plans
or
New Independent Variable
Control
Plans

Social Class Measures

This section is concerned with the utility, relative and absolute, of several apparent measures of socio-economic position in predicting educational plans. These measures are as follows:

1) Material Possessions Index -- with one point assigned for each of six kinds of possessions that a respondent's family might have. These possessions include (a) telephone, (b) hot running water, (c) daily newspaper, (d) electric washing machine, (e) television set, and (f) automobile. A student's score on this index can range from 0 (low) to 6 (high).
2) Mother's Education, measured by a single closed-ended question with the categories (a) no regular schooling, (b) less than 7 years, (c) 7 to 9 years, (d) at least 10 years, but didn't graduate from high school, (e) graduated from high school, (f) some college, (g) graduated from college, (h) don't know.
3) Father's Education, measured in the same way as Mother's Education.
4) Father's Occupational Status, measured by a single item intended to rank-order the occupations, at least grossly, into status categories, separated into rural and urban activities. These categories will be identified when we reach the discussion of this index.

We shall see, as others before us, that social class is related to educational planning. We shall also see that none of the above measures is distinctly superior in predicting future school plans. We elect to present results for each measure, because of the current lack of an accepted standard index of status, particularly for Negroes, and because of interest in how well each predicts.

Material Possessions (MP)

As Table III-1 indicates, there is a rather striking relationship between educational plans and position of a student's family on the material possesions index. The more possessions a student reports, the more likely he is to expect to go to college and the less likely he is to be considering a premature departure from high school. This holds true for all race-sex groupings. Moreover, if we look at MP as a control variable, we find that the racial differences in plans reported in the previous chapter are much reduced here, especially for females.

Among those reporting ownership of no more than two of the listed possessions, only around ten percent are in the college-planning group; the range is from 13.7 percent for white males to 7.5 percent for white females, with Negroes of both sexes having intermediate percentages. While respondents with this few possessions are least likely to expect to go to college, they are, however, the most likely to be classifiable as "potential dropout." It is rather significant that the effect of low values on this index is strongest for whites, with about 40 percent of those with 0-2 possessions uncertain about staying in school until graduation; the corresponding percentage for Negroes is just below 30.

Negroes also appear to slight advantage among those reporting 3-4 possessions, although the racial differences are really negligible. In general, no more than one-sixth of the respondents in this category are seriously planning on college immediately after high school, and a somewhat higher proportion (except among Negro females) may drop out before graduation.

It is among the students with 5 or 6 possessions that the higher educational expectations among whites continue to appear, even though to a reduced degree, as compared with the findings of the previous chapter. This does not show up with respect to the percentage of potential dropouts -- of those with the maximum possible MP score of 6, about 13 percent of the males and nine percent of the females of each race are uncertain about finishing. But in the likelihood of having strong college intentions, the whites are higher. Over half of the white males with 6 possessions are college planners, as compared to less than 40 percent of the Negro males; the smaller difference for females is between 46.8 and 40.7 percent for whites and Negroes, respectively. But all in all, the striking finding of Table III-1 is the degree to which this index of social class can "explain" racial differences in educational plans. Much of the overall difference between Negroes and whites in plans can be accounted for by the fact that Negroes in our sample are appreciably worse off in their level of living, as measured by this index. Over 60 percent of them report no more than 4 possessions, as compared with fewer than 20 percent of the whites; the percentages are exactly reversed for those claiming all 6 possessions. The Negro students as a whole are at a real disadvantage, then, since high educational expectations are so much more likely to occur among those with higher levels of living, where they are underrepresented. But within particular levels of living (as indexed by the MP scale), the racial difference in plans is not so great.

Mother's Education

A second index of socioeconomic status, mother's education, also appears to be a fairly good predictor of educational plans. We look only at those presently living with their mothers, because the accuracy of their reports about mother should be greater and also because it is more reasonable to expect that they will be influenced by characteristics of their mothers.

As would be expected, the higher the education reported for mother, the higher the expectations that the child has for himself (Table III-2).[1] Among the Negro high school students, college planning occurs for 13.0 percent of the males and 12.4 percent of the females whose mothers had less than seven years of formal education. At the same time, about one-fourth of these students are considered likely to drop out. If mother graduated from high school (but went no further), around 30 percent of the Negroes seriously expect to go to college, with 16.0 percent of the males and 11.4 percent of the females still potential dropouts. The expectation level rises sharply for those whose mothers had gone to college -- fewer than ten percent of the Negro students, altogether. Here we find about 55 percent of the respondents planning on college, with 12.1 percent of the boys and just 6.3 percent of the girls listed among the possible early school leavers.

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[1] In general, if the student reports that he doesn't know how much education his parent received, his educational expectations are likely to be relatively low. Undoubtedly, those who are unaware of the specific educational attainment of their parents -- this applies for fathers as well as mothers -- are likely to have relatively uneducated parents. It seems reasonable to expect that the more education a parent has received, the more he will make his children aware of the amount of schooling he had completed.

For whites, the picture is similar, except that there is a sharper break between those whose mothers were high school grads and those whose mothers had less education, as well as between those with college-going, versus high-school-graduating, mothers. For those whose mothers did not finish the seventh grade, 18.0 percent of the white males and only 8.6 percent of the females have strong college intentions; on the other hand, over one-third of the boys and almost a third of the girls are dropout possibilities. Somewhat higher expectations appear when the mother has had some high school but did not graduate. In this case, just under 30 percent of the white students of each sex have college plans, while 23.7 percent of the boys and 14.0 percent of the girls indicate some chances of dropping out. A big improvement in expectation level -- especially in the percentage planning to go to college -- shows up for those with mothers who graduated from high school. Here, 56.9 percent of the males and 47.2 percent of the females expect to attend college. These percentages rise, again, to over 75 when we turn to those whites whose mothers had also attended college. In this last group, too, the percentage of potential dropouts falls to its lowest -- just 5.7 percent for males and 2.9 percent for females.

One should note, as we noted before with the material possessions scale, that whites are advantaged in having a larger proportion in the categories where educational plans tend to be highest. One-sixth of the whites, as compared to just about 7.5 percent of the Negroes, report that mother went to college; the total percentages of those whose mothers finished high school are about 50 for whites and only about 25 for Negroes. Thus, even if whites and Negroes have similar levels of educational plans for a given socioeconomic status level, Negroes can be expected to have lower overall expectations because they are overrepresented in those groups which tend to have low expectations regardless of race. We shall observe this pattern many times in the course of this report. But perhaps it is most significant when we are looking at social-structural variables, such as class, as we are now. This would suggest that reduction of educational planning differentials, insofar as they are a product of such variables, can only be expected to change slowly as the total distribution on these variables shifts toward equality.

Father's Education

Table III-3 shows that father's education operates very similarly to the way mother's education related to educational plans.[2] Of those whose fathers failed to finish seven years of schooling, about one-fifth of the white males expect to go to college, along with about 15 percent of those in the other race-sex categories. At the other end of the scale, well over half of the students with college-educated fathers also plan to go to college -- the percentages, generally higher for whites, range from 55.6 percent for Negro females to 80.5 percent for white males. College planning is also found among over half of the whites whose fathers completed high school but went no further. But less than a third of the Negroes with similarly educated fathers express strong intentions of going to college right after high school.

The likelihood of dropping out is negatively related to father's education. It ranges from 20 percent or higher for those whose fathers had less than seven years of school to 5.6 percent and 10.2 percent for Negro females and males, respectively, with college-educated fathers and to less than five percent for whites with fathers who went to college. Again, these are essentially the same results as were found when mother's education was the independent variable.

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[2] Again, as with mother's education, we include only those living with the parent in question.

The same overrepresentation of whites in the most advantaged categories of the independent variable is also repeated with father's education. About twice as many whites' fathers completed at least high school (about 40 percent, versus less than 20 percent for Negroes), and less than half as many whites report father's education to be below seven years (16 percent versus about 35 percent for Negroes). Thus, we repeat the finding that Negroes are less likely to be in the most advantaged groups (as measured by the independent variable), and even when they are in these groups, their educational expectations are not as likely to be as high as are those of whites.

Father's Occupational Status (FOS)

A general rise in the level of educational plans occurs with rising occupational status of father (Table III-4) -- a not surprising corollary of the relationship between plans and father's education. This pattern applies to farm and to non-farm occupations, treated separately. While the white-collar-blue-collar distinction is important in both races and sexes, differences in status within the blue-collar group are much sharper for whites. Let us now look at some specific findings to document these generalizations.

Among those whose fathers have unskilled or semiskilled non-farm employment, all race-sex groups have relatively low educational expectations. Between 14.2 and 21.7 percent are possible dropouts, and only 19.9 to 28.2 percent have firm college plans. The white students in this category are a bit more likely to be considering dropping out, but white males also have the highest percentage planning college among those in this FOS category. All in all, though, there is little racial difference for students with fathers in lower blue-collar occupations.

It is noteworthy, though, that the lower-blue-collar versus upper-blue-collar distinction affects plans, particularly for college, more for white than for Negro students. An increase of 13.5 points for white males and 11.3 points for white females is seen in the percentage with college plans when we turn from those with unskilled or semi-skilled fathers to those with fathers in skilled blue-collar jobs. This means that in the latter category, 42.7 percent of the white males and 31.2 percent of the white females have serious college intentions. This compares with percentages of 24.4 and 29.9 for Negro males and females, respectively, among those with fathers in skilled blue-collar jobs -- a rise of 0.6 points for males and 8.4 points for females over the situation for those with unskilled or semi-skilled non-farming fathers. With regard to dropout potential, virtually no difference is observed among the Negroes in upper-, as compared to lower-, blue-collar FOS in the percentage possibly not finishing high school. But a modest percentage decrease does appear for whites of both sexes when we move up the FOS scale, even within the blue-collar ranks.

We would interpret the Negro-white difference in plans within the two blue-collar categories as follows. College plans are associated with, among other things, mobility aspirations of the student and his family. The white student from a skilled labor family probably has greater aspirations and sees more possibility for achieving them than does the student from the unskilled or semi-skilled family, and we know from a number of other studies that there is considerable upward mobility between the generations at this level. On the other hand, this distinction between blue-collar categories is apparently less meaningful for the Negro student in terms of mobility possibilities, as the emphasis put on education as an avenue to mobility by the Negro schools would ensure that the Negro students would be at least as likely to make this translation as the white students. Aside from the implications with regard to the point in the social class scale at which mobility aspirations seem to produce elevated educational plans, there may also be a difference between white and Negro families in the blue-collar levels in the kinds of family environment conducive to high educational and occupational motivation and the support for achieving them.

All subgroups show substantial increases in the average level of educational plans when we turn to white-collar employment among fathers.[3] But the racial gap is not closed; especially in the likelihood of planning for college. Over three-fifths of the white boys and over one-half of the white girls whose fathers are in lower white-collar jobs

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[3] Among whites, 36.6 percent of the non-farming fathers are in white-collar jobs, as compared to only 8.2 percent of the non-farming fathers of Negro respondents.

(clerical and sales) are classified as college-planners. For Negroes with similar FOS, the percentages are 41.8 and 33.3 for boys and girls, respectively. In the upper white-collar categories (owners, managers, and professionals), over half the Negro students expect to go to college -- 63.4 percent of the males and 51.7 percent of the females. But around three-quarters of the whites (76.5 percent of the males; 71.0 percent of the females) have similar plans.

Correspondingly, the likelihood of being a possible dropout is reduced among those with white-collar employed fathers, especially among those in the upper-white-collar FOS category. In this category, fewer than one percent in any race-sex group show a propensity for early school-leaving.

We have looked thus far only at those with fathers in non-farm employment. A similar relationship between educational plans and FOS occurs for those whose fathers work on farms. Here we have made a simple dichotomy between those who are farm owners or managers, on the one hand, and those who are tenant farmers or farm laborers, on the other. The ratio of the first category to the second, incidentally, is just about reversed for the two races -- 36.9 percent of the whites' farming fathers are tenants or farm laborers; 36.4 percent of the Negroes' fathers are owners or managers.

We find that the lower status group has appreciably lower educational expectations in all four race-sex subsamples -- lower, in fact, than what is found in any other FOS category, non-farm as well as farm. Fewer than ten percent of the white females and of Negroes of either sex have college plans if their fathers are tenant farmers or farm laborers. The percentage is only slightly higher for white males -- 16.7. At the same time, between one-quarter and one-third (in the case of white females) of these students are classified as possible dropouts.

In contrast are the students whose fathers manage or own farms. For Negroes, the contrast is not overwhelming, however. For even in this group of relatively advantaged offspring of farmers, the level of educational plans is still only about what it is for children of unskilled and semiskilled laborers in the non-farm ranks. In fact, Negro males are not quite as well off. If father is a farm owner or manager, 24.5 percent of the girls and 17.2 percent of the boys plan to go to college right after high school, while 15.6 percent of the girls and 21.7 percent of the boys may not even finish high school.

About two-fifths of the whites with fathers in upper-status farm employment plan to go to college, and 19.3 percent of the boys and just 11.6 percent of the girls are considered possible dropouts. Thus, the white respondents in this FOS category tend to resemble those with non-farm skilled-laboring fathers, rather than being most like those in the lowest non-farm FOS group, as is the case with Negroes.

Summary of Relationships Between Socioeconomic Measures and Educational Plans

We have now demonstrated that there is a rather substantial relationship between educational plans and socioeconomic status, whatever the particular measure of the latter variable. Actually, we could repeat these findings at least a couple more times with our data by substituting a subjective measure of social class (the respondent's estimate of his family's status position) or a measure of mother's occupational status. We find that high educational expectations are most likely to be associated with high subjective status, especially among whites,[4] and with high occupational status of mothers who worked.

In general, then, the higher the socioeconomic status of a student, the more likely he is to be planning a high level of educational attainment, regardless of the status measure used.

Application of Controls to the Relationship Between Material Possessions and Educational Plans

In Tables III 5-7, we see how MP relates to educational plans jointly with scholastic ability level, academic commitment, and school grades.[5] In general, social class seems to be related to plans, even when the "talent" variables are held constant.[6] But the combination of class with either ability, commitment, or grades tends to make for even greater predictive power.

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[4] The clarity of the meaning of a subjective status measure to Negroes is questionable.

[5] Material possessions was selected as the measure of social class for this purpose since it correlates well with other measures, has about the same relationship with educational plans as the other measures, and data on this index are available for a larger number of students.

[6] There is little relationship between the material possession index of class and the three "talent" variables. The difference between students who are high and low on these variables in percentage having high possessions (5-6 for Negroes and 6 for whites) averages less than 10 points, with slightly greater differences for white than Negro students.

For example, when using SAL as our "talent" measure, we find that the greatest likelihood of being a college planner occurs among those with maximum MP and maximum ability; among this group, 48.1 percent of the Negro males, 62.1 percent of the Negro females, 75.0 percent of white males, and 70.6 percent of white females are expecting to attend college. At the other extreme, fewer than ten percent of those with low SAL and with no more than four possessions are intending to go to college. (The percentage is 0.0 for the 112 Negro girls who have 0-2 possessions and who are in the bottom ability group in their school classes.)

At the same time, the proportion who are potential dropouts moves from a high of around two-fifths among those with minimum MP and SAL to well below 10 percent for those with the most possessions and highest scholastic ability.

The same trends can be observed when academic commitment or school grades replaces ability in the multi-causal model. For a given level of commitment or performance (grades), the higher the MP score, the more likely educational expectations are to be high. Also, for a given level of material possessions, the higher the commitment or performance, the higher the educational plans are likely to be. And finally, if both MP and commitment or performance are high, educational plans are most likely also to be high.

It is difficult to evaluate whether social class or "talent" is the greater contributor to educational plans, since each can be seen to operate at least somewhat independently from the other. But certainly the advantage of being high on both variables, as opposed to being high on one and low on the other, is obvious at least in the case of college expectations. In just about every case, the chances of being a serious college-planner are more than doubled among those with high socioeconomic status and high "talent," as compared to those high on just one of these and in the bottom categories on the other. As just one example, whereas 50.4 percent of the Negro males with high commitment and maximum MP are college bound, this is true for only 14.4 percent of those with high commitment and lowest MP and for just 21.2 percent of those with highest MP but in the lowest commitment group. Thus, while the variables are, in a sense, additive -- in that each seems to have some independent effect on educational plans, they are also multiplicative, in that the positive effect of one seems to enhance the positive effect of the other above and beyond what each might be expected to contribute separately to plans.

This appears to be somewhat less true with regard to dropout potential, where at least two of the "talent" measures, commitment and grades, seem to be more important than social class as a predictor. If students are highly committed or have performed well in school, they are relatively unlikely to have dropout plans, even if their socioeconomic status is low. And if the latter is high, dropout potential is often still fairly high, so long as the student is not committed to academics or not performing well in school. This is not to say that social class has no independent effect on the decision of whether or not to graduate -- just that the effect is not as great as that produced by present academic commitment and performance. The fact that a person expresses commitment to academics or is doing well in school is, apparently, an indication by itself of strong intentions to finish high school. But in the realm of college plans, the independent variable of socioeconomic status rises to equal importance (with commitment or grades) as a predictor of the level of students' educational expectations.

We can conclude that to have ability (or commitment or good grades) and to have a material level of living conducive to high ambitions is by far the most fortuitous condition for producing youth determined to go to college. To lack material well-being cuts substantially into the likelihood of college planning even among the most able and committed students. Undoubtedly, they see financial pressures pulling them from academic aspirations. And their economic situation may also be associated with a reduced valuation of education within the social environment -- the social support for further educational ambitions may be missing. Similarly, the poorer student (from an ability, commitment, or performance standpoint) is relatively unlikely to plan on college, even if his MP score indicates that financially he could go. Apparently, this last kind of student either recognizes that he lacks the competence for college or, for some other reason, has already turned away from academic value. To be well off financially or to be smart or academically committed are separately helpful factors in elevating educational horizons to include college plans, but one without the other constitutes a distinct risk that the maximum potential in academic attainment will not be realized or even aspired to.

We shall now turn to other aspects of social structural position to see whether they, as well as socioeconomic status, appear to influence the level of ambition observed among the youth of our sample.

Urban-Rural Residence

Urban-rural residence is one of the background factors that might be expected to influence educational planning. A person growing up in an urban setting is more likely to see the full range of advantages accruing to persons with high educational attainment. Exposure to college-educated persons and to occupational opportunities requiring post-high-school education is more likely to occur in cities than in the rural areas. Thus, we would predict that those in our sample from urban communities would tend to be planning a higher level of educational attainment than would the more rural respondents. Those actually living on farms might be least likely to intend to continue their education after high school -- both the lack of intimate acquaintance with the payoffs of higher education and the possibly depressed economic condition of farm-bred respondents would seem to work against their having generally high educational expectations. Intermediate might be those who, while not living in an urban setting are also not living on a farm; these persons would at least be somewhat more likely than the farm residents to be familiar with non-farm occupations (tending to require somewhat more education), even though they would not be as sophisticated as urbanites in their knowledge of the advantages of higher education.

We have subdivided respondents into four categories along this urban-rural dimension: (1) those reporting an urban residence in a county with a total of at least 40 percent urban population; (2) those reporting a town residence in a"rural" county (with less than 20 percent urban) or reporting a rural non-farm residence, regardless of the county's percentage urban; (3) those reporting residence on a farm of at least 25 acres in size; and (4) those reporting residence on a farm of less than 25 acres. All in the first category can be considered residents of communities of at least 20,000 in population or of communities proximate to these urban centers. Students in category two do not live on farms, but they reside either in open country or in communities of less than 4,000 not proximate to larger urban places. Farm residents comprise categories three and four, with size of farm distinguishing the two groups. From previous findings regarding the relationship between social class and educational aspirations, we would expect that those from more prosperous farms (generally the larger ones) would be somewhat more likely to aim for higher educational goals.

Table III-8 indicates a moderate relationship of the kind predicted between urban-rural residence and educational plans. While 26.9 percent of the urban Negro males have at least a probable expectation of entering college after high school graduation, only 14.9 of the males from farms have such plans. (The figure is only 11.9 percent for those from small farms). Slightly over 50 percent of the urban white males have at least probable expectations of going to college immediately after high school, and just 32.2 percent of the farm-bred have these plans, with the percentage reducing to 20.8 for those from small farms. The non-urban, non-farm occupy an intermediate position on educational plans for both Negro and white males. Thus, while urban-rural residence does not account for the racial difference in level of educational aims, it is a factor of some importance in explaining differences in plans within racial groups.

But this is much more true for males than it is for females. In fact, Negro girls from large farms are somewhat more likely to be planning for college than are girls from non-urban, non-farm settings (20.6 percent vs. 16.8 percent), and are not much less likely to be planning for college than those from urban areas (24.5 percent). White girls show no such reversal in the general tendency of urban and farm residents to be most disparate in educational plans, but the difference is not as great as for white males. Perhaps the dearth of opportunities in rural areas for women forces them in greater numbers to aim for the requirements of urban life -- among them the need for more education. This would tend to counteract any general effects of rural background in depressing the level of educational goals. Rural males, on the other hand, are more differentiated from their urban and non-farm counterparts in college plans than are rural females.

Looking at other points along the spectrum of educational plans, we find few noteworthy contrasts between urban and rural respondents. The tendency for small-farm students to have a higher percentage uncertain about finishing high school does not appear for white males and is only moderate for the other race-sex groups. Farm white males, especially those from small farms, seem to cluster, instead, in the category of respondents intending to finish high school but not planning to get any further formal training.

In general, then, the overall picture, as expected, is one of urban students most frequently planning to go to college. But we find less striking rural-urban differences in percentages expecting to attain lower educational goals. Being from a city may serve to raise some children's sights to plan for college, but for many others, it is relatively weak insurance against uncertainty about finishing high school.

Among the factors that might be expected to mediate between urban-rural residence and educational plans are scholastic ability level, degree of academic commitment, and grades in school. All have been viewed by previous writers as being products, in part, of such background factors as urban-rural residence. At the same time, these variables are related, as we have seen to the level of educational aspiration. Tables III 9-11 indicate that degree of urbanism contributes more to educational plans than that which is refracted through ability, commitment, and grade levels. For, even with these mediating variables controlled, the same trend generally appears of urban students most likely to be expecting to attend college. Those from small farms still are least likely to be planning for college, and students from large farms or from non-urban, non-farm residences are still generally in the middle in percentage expecting to go to college. There undoubtedly is some reduction in the predictive value of urban-rural residence once the three intermediate variables are controlled for. But we can still conclude at this point that urbanism, by itself, is a variable of at least moderate importance in influencing the level of educational aspirations of our sample of students.

Type of Family

When one looks at the effects of family structure on educational aspirations, a natural starting place is in the comparison of children from broken and unbroken homes. There is some evidence from the literature that children living with both parents are likely to aspire to higher goals and to have and perceive the means for attaining these goals.

What are some of the features associated with family structure that might account for this advantage to children from unbroken homes? The family most conducive to high aspirations among children should provide the following things, at least: (1) the guidance, authority, and discipline required to point and keep a child along the path toward such desired goals as high levels of educational attainment, (2) the warmth and emotional security needed as a base on which to build firm plans for the future without undue fear that one's environment, particularly social, will interfere, and (3) the material means which are needed in order to prolong the immediately unproductive, educational phase of life.

The unbroken home is relatively more likely to contain the characteristics just listed. Both parents, with the father predominating, are typically depended upon for the first function, while mother generally provides the second in larger measure, and father usually provides the third. When a real parent is absent or is substituted for, these functions would seem not as likely to be adequately provided. The condition of an absent or substitute mother seems likely to interfere with the development of self-confidence -- an outgrowth of the emotional security usually provided by the mother; the absence of a real father undermines the guidance function of childhood socialization, as well as the "breadwinning" function (at least if there is no father substitute). If this reasoning is correct, the much greater percentage of Negroes from broken homes -- about 45 percent to only 19 percent among whites in our sample -- might be one reason for the relatively lower level of educational plans among Negroes.

Our data lend support to the general hypothesis that broken homes reduce the level of educational plans (Table III-12), though differences are not as great as expected. For all race-sex groups, the percentage planning to go to college after high school graduation is larger for those from unbroken homes, whether the comparison is with all those not living with both real parents or with those from any particular type of "broken" home. For Negroes, there is about a five percentage point difference in planning for college between those from unbroken and broken homes. For whites, the difference is greater than ten percentage points. Almost 46 percent of white boys living with both real parents plan to go to college, as compared to just 33.4 percent of those not living with both real parents. For white girls, the corresponding figures are 38.8 percent and 24.0 percent; for Negro boys, the difference is from 23.9 percent to 18.9 percent; and for Negro girls, it is from 22.3 to 17.6 percent.

At the other end of the educational plans dimension, we find the expected converse. Those from unbroken homes are less likely to consider themselves possible dropouts from high school. But the differences are not very great for any race-sex group; the largest difference in percentage of potential dropouts between those from unbroken and broken homes is found among white girls, and this difference is of less than seven percentage points -- from 12.5 to 19.3 percent. Thus, it seems that having both real parents in the home has some influence on educational plans all along that dimension, but that its greatest effect is in determining whether a child will plan to go to college or not -- this being most apparent among whites.

When we examine the various specific types of broken homes, we find no general ordering as to which are more or less favorable to high educational aspirations. It is true that for three of the four race-sex groups the small number reported living with no relative are at the bottom in percentage expecting to go to college and they lead in the percentage considering dropping out or stopping after high school graduation (categories 1, 2, and 3 on the original educational plans scale). But for white males this is not true, and the possibility of sampling error with small N's makes one reluctant to conclude either that living with non-relatives is an anti-education factor or that white males are peculiar in their reaction to this kind of living arrangement. The latter conclusion, especially, would be very difficult to interpret.

Other theoretically meaningful distinctions between types of broken homes are not consistently borne out by our data. For example, the notion that boys will suffer more from the lack of a father appears true for whites. For, as compared with those living with both real parents, there is a much sharper reduction in the percentage planning for college for boys than for girls living with mother only. Even having a substitute in the form of a stepfather still leaves a fairly sharp drop in college planning, although this is shared for both males and females among whites. But for Negroes, no such trend appears. Having no father or only a stepfather produces a percentage planning for college which is virtually the same as for several other types of broken families. In fact, there seems to be a barely discernible tendency for the lack of a real father to be less disadvantaging than most of these other types, at least for Negro girls.

On might also wish to ask whether having a stepparent is better or worse than having no parent at all. Our data indicate that this in itself makes very little difference insofar as educational plans are concerned. For Negro males, the percentage planning college after high school is a bit higher for those with mother only and father only than it is for those having a stepfather or stepmother. For Negro females, the reverse is very slightly shown. White males seem to benefit from a stepfather, as compared to living with mother only, but it doesn't seem to matter whether white boys have a stepmother or live with father alone. On the other hand, white girls have somewhat higher likelihood of planning for college if they live in a mother-only or a father-stepmother family, as compared with either a father-only or mother-stepfather household.

Essentially, we must conclude, then, that family intactness does make some difference in the level of educational plans of our respondents. But the effect is no more than moderate -- somewhat greater for whites than for Negroes. And within the broad category of "broken homes," there is no consistent pattern of which specific types of family structures are most beneficial or least harmful for the development of high aspirations among children.

Before turning from this examination of the importance of family type, we want to see whether controlling for scholastic ability level, academic commitment, or grades would account for the modest relationship between family type and educational plans. Perhaps family type is associated with differences in these three control variables and perhaps the former contributes nothing independent of SAL, AC, and grades towards the determination of respondents' plans to graduate or to go to college.

In Tables III-13-15 we see that application of these controls does not generally erase the modest relationship between family type and educational plans. At least among whites, regardless of the SAL, AC, or grade level of respondent, he is somewhat more likely to be planning college and somewhat less likely to be considering dropping out if he is from an unbroken home, rather than from a home where one or both real parents are absent. The only possible exceptions to this among whites occur among those with relatively low scholastic ability -- for such girls there is little difference between those from unbroken and broken homes in likelihood of planning for college; and for white boys with low SAL, intactness of home seems to make very little difference in the likelihood of being rated a potential dropout.

Among Negroes where the relationship between educational plans and family type was weaker to begin with, there are several reversals from the general trend when SAL, AC, and grades are introduced as controls. Those males who are either relatively high or relatively low on SAL and from broken homes have a slightly higher percentage planning to go to college right after high school than do their counterparts from unbroken homes. The same is true for females with relatively low SAL. Low academic commitment is least likely to be associated with college planning among girls, if they are from unbroken homes. And low grades are a concomitant of dropout potential among Negro males at least as often for those from unbroken homes as they are among those with one or both real parents absent.

But none of these reversals is of any appreciable magnitude. However, neither are most of the non-reversals distinguished by the degree to which they uphold the original trend of higher plans for those from unbroken homes. Our safest conclusion, then, is that the weak general tendency for educational plans to be higher for Negroes from unbroken homes is in large part only a reflection of the association between family intactness and such other determining factors as scholastic ability, academic commitment, and grades in school. On the other hand, family intactness does appear to make some independent contribution to educational plans of whites at almost all SAL, AC, and grade levels. As with most of our other background variables, it appears that the effect on adolescent academic planning is greater for whites than for Negroes. Thus, as with the other variables, the racial difference in proportion of broken homes cannot explain the reduced educational expectation level of Negroes.

Number or Siblings and Birth Order

Two other family structural variables that can be investigated for their possible association with educational plans are number of siblings and birth order. The large family is likely to be less conducive to a high level of planning than the small family. For one reason, the large family would seem to provide less opportunity for individualized attention and encouragement directed toward the growing child. It would also be expected simply because of the association between large families and both lower social class and rurality -- both already seen as depressants on high educational aspirations and planning.

As for birth order, the influence on educational plans would probably be more complex -- partly a function of family size. One expectation might be that the older child, especially in larger families, would bear the brunt of any factors militating against high educational expectations, such as low economic status, broken homes, etc. The oldest male child, at least, would be on call, in case of emergency, to give up his own possibly high aspirations in favor of contributing to the general welfare of the family. Conversely, the youngest child, especially in large families and especially males, would tend to be relatively protected from the vicissitudes of family disorganization and deprivation and would reflect this in a relatively optimistic and ambitious outlook with regard to plans for future education. On the other hand, there is some previous research evidence to indicate that at least among whites, the oldest child is likely to have the highest aspirations or expectations. This is usually attributed to the fact that the oldest is often the most perfect reflection of parents' goals. He alone, among all the children, ever receives undivided attention from his parents. While this is usually just in infancy, certain predispositions (e.g., the need to achieve) may be largely developed during the period and even intensified once rivalry with new siblings is introduced. Also, the oldest child may be used as an example for later children, with the result that higher standards are set for him. Thus, we have two conflicting predictions about the effect of birth order on educational plans. One previous study suggests that social class may be an important specifying factor: middle-class first-born will be relatively high aspirers, and those from the lower class will be relatively low on educational expectations. While we shall not control for social class directly at this point, we might expect from the above that whites and children from small families would be more likely to follow the middle-class patterns, and Negroes and children with a large number or siblings would tend toward the lower-class pattern of relationship between birth order and educational plans.

Turning first to size of family, we find that our data follow predictions quite handsomely (Table III-16). Among whites, over half of the only children and almost half of those with one or two siblings are planning for college right after high school. But just 20 percent of the males and 14.3 percent of the females with five or more siblings have these plans. For Negroes the contrast is not so sharp, but it is still noteworthy. Around 30 percent of the only children and those from small families are planning to go to college, while this is true for only about 17 percent of those from large families. Negro males do show one exceptional pattern in that only children are not quite as likely to be planning to go to college as are those with either a small number or even an intermediate number of siblings. But for all race-sex groups, the likelihood of planning for college is definitely least when the number of siblings is five or more. Similarly, the percentage classified as potential dropouts tends to be highest for those from large families for all race-sex groups and is lowest, at least for whites, among those with no more than two siblings.

An interesting additional point to note is that among those from large families, the usual race difference in college expectations disappears. In other words, while whites are usually quite a bit more likely to be planning to go to college, those from large families have no higher expectation level than their Negro counterparts. On the other hand, among those from smaller families, whites have a much higher percentage with college plans. Thus, large families seem to have the same effect on whites as on Negroes, but the advantages of small families seem to carry more weight for whites. As with the background variable examined before, the influence of family size in general seems to be greater for whites than for Negroes.

As we mentioned above, one reason for the family-size difference in educational plans is the relationship between size and socioeconomic status. In Chapter XI, we will show that much, but not all, of the size-plans relationship disappears when social status is controlled. Even so, it is not possible to say whether differences in family size are basic and one reason for the effect of status, or whether size is merely an indicator of the status variable, in this instance, contributing relatively little to the variance of plans apart from status.

Generally, controlling for scholastic aptitude, academic commitment, or grades does not erase the relationship found between size of family and educational plans (Tables III-17-19). There are no significant reversals among whites in the usual tendency for college plans to be most frequent for children with no more than two siblings and least frequent for those with five or more brothers and sisters. The combination of being from a small family and having high SAL, AC, or grades is very effective in producing a college planner among whites. For example, over 80 percent of the white boys with high AC from small families expect to go to college, as compared with only about 30 percent of the low AC boys from small families and only 22 percent of the high AC boys from large families. Eighty-six percent of the white female only children with high SAL have college plans -- more than double the percentage among either low SAL only children or high SAL girls from large families.

For Negroes also, the controls of SAL, AC, and grades do not usually alter the relationship of family size and educational plans. Children from large families are generally least likely to be planning to go to college, within each category of the control variables. The one exception is that for Negro girls with low grades, the percentage planning college from large families is essentially the same as the percentage from medium-sized families (6.9 and 6.8 percent, respectively) and is higher than the percentage among girl only children (just 4.3 percent, but for only 23 cases). The introduction of controls produces no consistent effect on the one earlier noted deviation from the general pattern of negative relationship between size of family and level of educational expectations: the tendency for Negro male only children to have a lower frequency of college planning than those with some, but not a large number of siblings. We do find some control categories (low AC, low SAL, and high SAL) where the only male child has the largest percentage planning college, but these all involve only a small number of cases. In general, size of family tends to operate for Negro males -- as for the other race-sex categories -- in the same way when controls of ability, grades, and commitment are introduced, as it did without these controls. As a rule, then, except for Negro male only children, the smaller the family, the higher the expected level of educational attainment. We can accept as empirically supported the assumption that the smaller family is more likely to have the material means and the parental encouragement most conducive for the child to expect to go to college and to plan definitely to finish high school.

With size of family considered, birth order seems not to be a very important factor affecting future educational plans (Table III-20). Among white small families, the oldest child is most likely to be planning to go to college, and for white females, the oldest child is least likely to be a potential dropout. But none of the percentage differences is very large; the difference between being an oldest child in a small family and being either middle or youngest is never as much as ten percentage points in the percentage planning college or possibly not graduating from high school.

Contrary to what was predicted at the beginning of this section, the advantage for the oldest child among whites increases with size of family. He is several percentage points more likely to be a college planner and less likely to be a potential dropout than either the middle or youngest child in both the medium- and large-sized family. When there are three or four siblings, the contrast is most striking between oldest and youngest children in college plans -- 47.3 percent of the oldest white males plan college, as compared with just 34.1 percent of the youngest; for females, the figures are 35.7 and 21.4 percent.

In the largest families, 25.6 percent of the oldest white males expect to go to college, as opposed to 16.5 percent of the youngest; and 31.2 percent of the oldest girls expect to attend college after high school, as compared with 14.4 percent of the youngest in the family and 11.8 percent of those who occupy a middle place in the birth order. There is a corresponding, though smaller, reduction in the percentage of potential dropouts among oldest white children in medium and large families, when compared with middle and youngest children.

For Negroes there is no real pattern of a particular place in the birth order being strongly associated with increased expectations of going to college or with decreased dropout potential. In five of the six sex-by-size-of-family groupings, the youngest child has the highest percentage planning college -- the exception being the Negro females from small families, where oldest children have a slight advantage. On the other hand, middle children show the lowest percentage of college planners in all six groupings. But never is there even as much as a ten percentage point spread between the category most planning college and the one least planning college, when sex and size of family are controlled for. And when we look at the percentage who might be considered potential dropouts, there is not even a consistent tendency for a particular place in the birth order to rank best or worse for Negro youths. It would be useless even to try to summarize the specific findings in this regard, since just about all percentage differences could easily be attributed to minor sampling fluctuations.

And so, again we see a background variable predicting better for whites than for Negroes. Birth order seems not a very exciting predictor of educational plans in either race, but it seems to have relatively greater utility for whites. Somewhat contrary to our earlier speculation, the oldest white child tends to have somewhat higher expectations with regard to his educational future. This is true for both sexes and controlling for family size. The strength of this tendency is not enough to merit further speculation at this time nor does it suggest that we should take the trouble to introduce the controls of ability, academic commitment, and grades, since birth order is certainly not a major contributor to educational planning, even for whites. But for those who would focus on the effects of birth order, rather than on the determinants of educational plans, these findings do warrant attention.

Summary

In this chapter, we have attempted to describe some aspects of the typical places in the social structure occupied by college-planning and dropout-prone high school students. We have found most of the background variables studied here to be good predictors of educational plans. But their greatest value may be in what they suggest to be the more immediate variables involved in the process of determining particular educational aspirations and plans of youngsters.

We have seen that socioeconomic status is positively related to the expected level of educational attainment. We have also found high academic ambitions to be relatively often associated with urban residence, intactness of families, and with being a member of a small family (with few, if any, siblings). These suggest that financial security, large shares of individualized attention from both parents, and similarity to the middle-class model of "proper" life style and values -- all derivatives of the variables studied in this chapter -- are key factors most directly contributing to prospects for a future that includes college education. In ensuing chapters, we shall be able to test whether some of these ideas are valid or not -- particularly, whether middle-class values and parental interest and support (as well as interest and support from others) are conducive to high educational ambitions.

Before closing this chapter, there is one additional topic that requires attention, since it is of central importance to the overall purposes of this study. An interesting pattern has begun to appear with regard to racial differences in educational plans. In the cases of social class measures and size of family, at least, we have found racial differences to be minimal among those in the less advantaged positions on the independent variables (i.e., those with large families or low socioeconomic status). But the expectations of whites tend to rise much more sharply with changes (for the better) in the independent variables. Thus, among those in the highest categories on these variables, whites tend to be farthest ahead of Negroes in likelihood of having high educational plans.

What we are observing, then, is that key variables for predicting educational plans have less effect on the plans of Negroes than on those of whites. This seems to contradict at least one set of preconceptions with which the researchers entered this study. That is, we had expected independent variables to operate similarly for both races, with different distributions of the races within these variables accounting for overall racial differences in educational plans. Especially interesting is the finding that it is among the most advantaged students that the racial gap in ambitions seems to be widest.

We shall come across the same phenomenon as observed here many times again as we explore the relationship with educational planning of various other factors, both separately and in combination, later in this report. One possible explanation is that a number of "favorable" conditions and factors are needed to produce high educational aspirations, and that such factors are more highly interconnected for white than for Negro students. This would mean that any one of them would produce higher differences in expectations for whites and that the combination of a large number of them would leave fewer Negroes in the high expectance category, with those in this category coming closer to approximating the expectancies for white students.

Even so, we cannot expect to account completely for racial differences in educational plans just on the basis of the variables we have chosen to study. There are very many relevant causal variables associated with subcultural differences in aspiration level, types of goals, life values, background, etc. that we have not been able to tap, and which, in fact, keep changing rather significantly in response to the rapid social changes taking place, particularly in the South, in the past several years. The variables with which we deal to account for some of the within-group and between-group differences may be comparatively stable and can be considered as the framework within which the more fluctuating effects take place.

Table III-1

Educational Plans and Material Possessions, by Race and Sex

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Number of Material Possessions in Home	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0 - 2	711	29.3	11.5	1085	27.3	10.3	51	43.1	13.7	67	38.8	7.5
3 - 4	1506	23.9	16.7	2044	16.3	16.8	345	31.3	14.5	435	23.7	11.7
5	802	20.2	26.4	914	13.7	25.0	503	19.1	32.2	530	13.2	29.4
6	818	13.6	39.1	808	8.5	40.7	1627	13.2	54.8	1522	9.9	46.8

Table III-2

Educational Plans and Mother's Education, by Race and Sex*

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Mother's Education	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Don't know	393	29.0	17.3	487	23.2	14.6	185	29.2	28.6	162	25.4	17.9
Less than 7 years	463	28.7	13.0	704	22.9	12.4	178	36.0	18.0	210	29.0	8.6
7 - 9 years	888	24.7	15.8	1237	17.9	16.5	435	24.4	24.4	491	17.3	17.7
More than 9 years, not a high school grad	858	21.7	19.2	1079	14.9	22.8	473	23.7	29.2	490	14.0	28.0
High school grad	605	16.0	31.6	592	11.4	28.7	814	11.3	56.9	717	9.3	47.2
At least some college	272	12.1	54.8	254	6.3	56.3	386	5.7	76.9	380	2.9	78.9

* Excluded are all those not living with mother, as well as those not classified on one or another of the variables considered in this table.

Table III-3

Educational Plans and Father's Education, by Race and Sex*

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Father's Education	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Don't know	530	27.2	15.7	722	22.1	16.3	207	26.1	28.1	223	20.2	22.4
Less than 7 years	744	24.2	15.6	1049	20.0	14.5	328	23.5	20.7	331	19.9	14.5
7 - 9 years	578	24.2	18.5	720	13.2	24.3	508	21.3	34.1	495	16.1	23.4
More than 9 years, not a high school grad	432	18.3	27.5	507	14.6	25.0	335	20.3	39.1	379	11.6	34.3
High school grad	290	16.2	31.8	300	9.3	31.0	513	14.4	55.4	459	7.7	50.5
At least some college	176	10.2	61.9	142	5.6	55.6	405	3.7	80.5	355	3.9	76.6

*Excluded are all those not living with father, as well as those not classified on one or another of the variables considered in this table.

Table III-4

Educational Plans and Father's Occupational Status, by Race and Sex*

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Father's Occupation	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Non-Farm employment												
Unskilled or semi-skilled labor	1349	19.9	23.8	1686	14.2	21.5	489	21.7	28.2	513	17.7	19.9
Skilled labor	386	19.4	24.4	401	13.2	29.9	689	17.0	42.7	663	11.6	31.2
Clerical and sales	55	18.2	41.8	54	11.1	33.3	283	10.2	62.5	243	8.2	52.3
Managerial, entrepreneurial or professional	123	8.9	63.4	120	5.0	51.7	412	6.1	76.5	431	5.1	71.0
Farm employment												
Tenant farmer or farm labor	364	29.7	9.9	551	24.8	9.6	144	32.6	16.7	138	24.7	8.6
Farm owner or manager	226	21.7	17.2	302	15.6	24.5	243	19.3	39.0	233	11.6	41.7

* Excluded are all those not living with father, as well as those not classified on one or another of the variables considered in this table.

Table III-5

Educational Plans and Material Possessions, Controlling for Scholastic Ability Level

Material Possessions	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	N	Low SAL		N	Medium SAL		N	High SAL		N	Low SAL		N	Medium SAL		N	High SAL	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0 - 2	81	37.0	9.9	70	30.0	8.6	56	17.9	17.9	112	38.4	0.0	121	23.1	6.6	67	17.9	22.4
3 - 4	160	34.4	8.8	172	23.8	10.5	140	11.4	25.7	244	23.0	9.4	242	14.0	11.2	213	10.8	27.7
5	67	28.4	13.4	84	20.2	25.0	75	17.3	37.3	82	19.5	15.9	77	6.5	26.0	93	4.3	39.8
6	52	26.9	15.4	69	10.1	31.9	81	8.6	48.1	56	12.5	26.8	57	7.0	38.6	58	6.9	62.1
	White Males									White Females								
0 - 2	6	-	-	6	-	-	7	-	-	17	41.2	5.9	10	30.0	10.0	7	-	-
3 - 4	75	40.0	8.0	53	32.1	7.5	34	11.8	32.4	92	27.2	4.3	69	24.6	10.1	55	18.2	30.9
5	114	27.2	18.4	96	21.9	28.1	95	7.4	55.8	116	20.7	13.8	123	10.6	29.3	82	7.3	48.8
6	361	24.7	31.0	406	13.5	52.2	432	4.4	75.0	382	12.3	22.8	380	13.4	40.8	402	3.7	70.6

Table III-6

Educational Plans and Material Possessions, Controlling for Academic Commitment

Material Possessions	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	N	Low AC		N	Medium AC		N	High AC		N	Low AC		N	Medium AC		N	High AC	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0 - 2	93	57.0	3.2	331	28.7	11.5	263	18.3	14.4	92	64.1	1.1	423	34.0	7.6	547	14.8	14.1
3 - 4	210	50.5	6.2	702	23.1	15.4	568	13.6	22.9	150	45.3	5.3	815	22.3	12.4	1052	7.4	21.9
5	130	46.9	13.1	380	17.4	22.9	282	11.7	37.9	65	46.2	6.2	388	14.7	23.2	446	7.4	29.4
6	118	37.3	21.2	403	11.4	37.5	284	5.6	50.4	68	27.9	25.0	337	10.7	37.1	398	3.5	46.5
	White Males									White Females								
0 - 2	14	64.3	7.1	29	37.9	13.8	8	-	-	22	68.2	0.0	25	24.0	8.0	21	23.8	14.3
3 - 4	151	47.7	4.6	148	20.9	18.9	42	4.8	35.7	88	45.5	4.5	230	29.1	9.1	116	4.3	22.4
5	203	34.5	15.8	230	9.1	38.7	67	7.5	58.2	91	36.3	15.4	283	10.2	25.8	155	4.5	44.5
6	517	27.3	31.3	841	7.6	62.1	259	3.1	78.8	248	28.6	23.4	747	7.6	43.6	516	4.1	62.0

Table III-7

Educational Plans and Material Possessions, Controlling for Grades in School

Material Possessions	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	N	Low Grades		N	Med. Grades		N	High Grades		N	Low Grades		N	Med. Grades		N	High Grades	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0 - 2	117	39.3	3.4	350	30.9	12.0	176	16.5	18.2	114	45.6	6.1	504	27.8	7.9	375	17.9	16.5
3 - 4	222	38.7	8.6	805	23.4	13.7	389	13.6	27.2	190	27.9	4.2	919	17.4	12.7	832	10.8	24.5
5	124	37.1	5.6	424	17.5	27.1	209	11.0	40.2	63	28.6	4.8	426	15.5	20.7	380	8.7	34.7
6	119	28.6	19.3	420	12.9	36.9	245	6.5	55.5	72	13.9	15.3	361	10.5	35.7	344	4.1	52.9
	White Males									White Females								
0 - 2	15	60.0	0.0	15	46.7	20.0	21	28.6	19.0	13	76.9	0.0	35	34.3	5.7	19	21.1	15.8
3 - 4	89	48.3	9.0	159	27.7	11.3	81	13.6	28.4	61	42.6	3.3	209	25.4	9.1	154	13.6	19.5
5	115	36.5	13.9	248	16.9	30.2	125	4.0	56.0	60	28.3	6.7	219	18.3	19.6	243	4.5	44.4
6	281	28.8	27.8	751	14.1	47.0	580	4.3	79.0	131	27.5	9.9	607	13.5	30.5	707	4.0	72.6

Table III-8

Educational Plans and Place of Residence, by Race and Sex

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Place of Residence	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Urban	2035	19.9	26.9	2328	15.2	24.5	1208	14.9	50.7	1260	12.0	39.5
Non-urban, non-farm	1111	24.6	18.7	1445	18.2	16.8	751	18.7	42.2	739	14.0	36.6
Large farm	705	25.6	16.6	762	16.4	20.6	607	22.5	33.6	484	16.5	30.5
Small farm	388	30.4	11.9	438	24.0	13.5	77	15.6	20.8	138	21.0	20.3

Table III-9

Place of Residence and Educational Plans, Controlling for Scholastic Ability Level

Place of Residence	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
Urban	176	31.8	12.5	188	18.1	18.1	155	11.6	40.0	214	23.4	14.0	204	8.8	20.6	178	6.2	41.6
Non-urban, non-farm	123	36.6	8.1	123	21.1	16.3	119	19.3	27.7	162	27.8	8.6	155	12.9	11.0	132	14.4	31.8
Large farm	56	28.6	7.1	85	28.2	16.5	70	8.6	25.7	83	16.9	10.8	87	20.7	16.1	76	7.9	22.4
Small farm	48	35.4	6.3	29	34.5	6.9	37	13.5	27.0	69	30.4	1.4	75	21.3	9.3	55	12.7	29.1
	White Males									White Females								
Urban	309	25.9	28.5	336	14.3	47.0	349	4.9	72.5	373	16.6	18.2	373	12.6	34.6	329	4.0	68.4
Non-urban, non-farm	145	32.4	18.6	140	19.3	45.0	138	7.2	67.4	146	15.8	20.0	112	16.1	35.7	148	8.1	60.1
Large farm	118	28.8	22.9	95	25.3	29.5	87	8.0	60.9	78	19.2	14.1	77	16.9	36.4	70	8.6	52.9
Small farm	16	12.5	12.5	19	10.5	36.8	8	-	-	26	30.8	11.5	33	24.2	18.2	14	14.3	28.6

Table III-10

Place of Residence and Educational Plans, Controlling for Academic Commitment

Place of Residence	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment			Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment		
	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	6-7
Urban	327	44.0	12.2	978	17.7	26.3	697	10.9	35.6	224	42.9	9.4	994	17.8	22.1	1085	7.0	30.0
Non-urban, non-farm	164	54.9	8.5	553	22.8	15.9	374	12.8	27.8	102	52.9	3.9	590	22.0	13.1	725	9.4	21.8
Large farm	82	43.9	7.3	320	30.0	13.4	288	13.2	23.6	38	42.1	13.2	272	25.0	12.9	446	9.0	26.0
Small farm	52	69.2	5.8	166	25.9	13.9	158	20.3	12.0	35	77.1	2.9	237	28.7	11.8	350	13.7	16.3
	White Males									White Females								
Urban	417	28.8	28.1	606	8.6	57.4	177	4.0	81.9	226	33.2	17.3	630	8.4	36.2	398	5.8	56.8
Non-urban, non-farm	265	34.3	22.3	370	11.1	51.1	111	7.2	60.4	137	32.1	19.0	365	14.0	32.3	231	2.6	52.8
Large farm	217	40.1	15.7	297	14.8	40.1	88	3.4	56.8	68	48.5	14.7	259	13.9	27.0	156	6.4	43.6
Small farm	33	27.3	9.1	33	9.1	21.2	11	0.0	56.5	28	50.0	3.6	62	21.0	21.0	48	4.2	29.2

Table III-11

Place of Residence and Educational Plans, Controlling for Grades in School

Place of Residence	Negro Male									Negro Female								
	Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades			Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades		
	N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Urban	376	35.6	11.2	1083	17.4	25.5	469	9.4	45.8	252	26.6	7.5	1138	17.3	20.7	825	7.0	36.8
Non-urban, non-farm	135	40.7	3.7	565	25.0	16.8	339	14.2	29.8	104	30.8	6.7	579	19.3	10.7	670	13.6	24.6
Large farm	92	47.8	8.7	385	22.9	15.7	182	17.0	23.6	65	23.1	10.8	347	17.6	15.0	321	10.9	29.6
Small farm	49	42.9	4.1	192	34.9	11.5	105	16.2	17.1	56	50.0	1.8	300	24.3	13.0	229	14.4	17.5
	White Males									White Females								
Urban	229	31.9	25.3	561	14.4	43.3	399	4.8	77.7	146	29.5	7.5	502	15.3	24.9	598	4.3	60.4
Non-urban, non-farm	161	36.6	21.1	345	18.3	37.1	233	5.6	66.1	67	38.8	10.4	310	16.1	22.6	349	6.9	54.7
Large farm	125	44.8	9.6	294	20.7	32.3	174	8.6	54.6	38	44.7	0.0	227	22.0	21.6	214	5.6	46.3
Small farm	21	28.6	9.5	34	8.8	20.6	19	5.3	36.8	21	23.8	4.8	69	31.9	17.4	46	4.3	32.6

Table III-12

Educational Plans and Type of Family, by Race and Sex

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Type of Family	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Living with both parents	2333	21.2	23.9	2978	15.7	22.3	2170	17.2	45.7	2136	12.5	38.8
Not living with both parents	1946	25.5	18.9	2250	19.4	17.6	479	20.6	33.4	494	19.3	24.0
Mother and stepfather	325	28.6	15.1	387	21.5	18.6	108	21.3	35.2	116	17.2	22.4
Mother only	819	24.3	20.3	997	18.8	17.9	212	24.1	29.7	236	22.9	28.4
Father and stepmother	101	30.7	15.9	79	25.4	14.0	42	16.7	42.8	24	8.4	29.1
Father only	78	32.0	20.6	83	22.9	12.0	31	13.0	42.0	26	11.5	23.0
Grandparents	385	24.6	19.7	432	18.0	19.0	37	18.9	32.4	29	10.3	24.1
Other relatives	184	21.7	22.3	216	15.8	18.0	27	22.2	29.6	33	15.2	12.1
Other	55	23.7	9.1	58	25.9	6.9	22	4.5	36.3	30	26.6	6.6

Table III-13

Type of Family and Educational Plans, Controlling for Scholastic Ability Level

	Negro Males									Negro Females								
Type of Family	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans% 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
Both real parents	228	32.0	8.3	248	21.4	18.1	237	13.1	31.6	333	24.6	12.3	313	12.8	18.8	280	8.6	33.6
Not both real parents	179	34.6	10.6	183	22.4	14.2	145	14.5	33.1	208	24.5	6.7	221	16.7	10.4	162	12.3	34.0
	White Males									White Females								
Both real parents	483	28.2	27.3	482	15.8	45.4	503	5.4	70.2	514	16.7	17.9	473	13.5	35.7	476	4.4	67.6
Not both real parents	109	26.6	11.9	109	22.0	35.8	79	8.9	60.8	113	20.4	16.8	125	16.8	29.6	85	12.9	38.8

Table III-14

Type of Family and Educational Plans, Controlling for Academic Commitment

Type of Family	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment			Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment		
	N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Both real parents	339	46.3	11.2	1085	19.8	22.0	368	11.5	31.7	214	45.3	6.5	1175	20.0	20.4	1547	7.8	26.4
Not both real parents	292	51.7	8.6	1052	21.4	16.7	560	18.0	29.8	190	51.6	9.5	939	22.8	13.0	1089	10.5	23.0
	White Males									White Females								
Both real parents	739	32.7	24.0	1089	10.4	52.8	328	4.0	72.3	337	32.9	18.7	1085	11.2	34.2	701	4.3	55.2
Not both real parents	196	34.2	18.4	220	12.3	41.4	59	8.5	52.5	120	43.3	11.7	236	13.6	25.4	138	8.0	32.6

Table III-15

Type of Family and Educational Plans, Controlling for Grades in School

Type of Family	Negro Male									Negro Female								
	Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades			Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades		
	N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Both real parents	358	38.8	9.8	1180	20.3	22.6	655	10.1	36.5	254	26.8	9.4	1355	17.3	17.4	1209	9.6	31.9
Not both real parents	303	38.6	7.3	1063	23.9	17.9	447	16.6	31.3	224	32.1	4.9	1033	20.1	15.1	858	12.9	25.8
	White Males									White Females								
Both real parents	426	35.9	20.2	1001	16.8	39.6	703	4.8	72.0	206	29.1	8.7	882	17.1	24.1	1022	5.0	58.3
Not both real parents	113	37.2	17.7	234	17.5	33.3	124	12.4	50.0	67	46.3	1.5	229	20.5	19.2	190	6.8	38.9

Table III-16

Educational Plans and Size of Family, by Race and Sex

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Number of Siblings	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0	183	20.2	25.6	196	16.9	33.2	201	13.4	55.2	207	8.7	52.6
1 - 2	715	20.4	31.2	778	10.3	29.0	1319	14.3	51.3	1210	10.7	44.9
3 - 4	931	18.7	26.0	1139	16.2	21.1	667	20.5	39.1	756	14.2	30.0
5 or more	2249	25.4	16.6	2952	19.5	16.7	430	26.3	20.0	440	23.9	14.3

Table III-17

Size of Family and Educational Plans, Controlling for Scholastic Ability Level

Number of Siblings	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low chol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0	24	33.3	25.0	18	33.3	11.1	20	5.0	50.0	17	17.6	23.5	23	8.7	43.5	25	8.0	56.0
1 - 2	65	36.9	16.9	81	19.8	24.7	72	6.9	45.8	78	14.1	17.9	82	11.0	20.7	83	6.0	39.8
3 - 4	97	29.9	10.0	100	15.0	18.0	95	15.8	30.5	128	18.0	10.9	136	10.3	12.5	100	12.0	34.0
5 or more	196	32.7	5.6	221	24.9	12.7	180	15.6	26.1	292	31.2	6.2	277	18.4	11.9	227	10.6	27.8
	White Males									White Females								
0	37	27.0	27.0	52	9.6	59.6	50	4.0	78.0	51	11.8	27.5	47	10.6	40.4	57	1.8	86.0
1 - 2	290	24.8	32.1	321	14.3	48.3	342	5.3	72.5	279	12.5	22.9	282	13.5	40.4	300	4.3	68.3
3 - 4	142	32.4	16.2	135	21.5	38.5	137	5.1	67.2	174	15.5	16.1	174	14.4	32.8	147	7.5	53.1
5 or more	116	28.4	13.8	76	27.6	18.4	48	14.6	35.4	116	33.6	3.4	90	18.9	14.4	57	14.0	38.6

Table III-18

Size of Family and Educational Plans, Controlling for Academic Commitment

Number of Siblings	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment			Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment		
	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7
0	29	31.0	17.2	92	20.7	23.9	54	13.0	33.3	12	66.7	8.3	78	23.1	21.8	102	6.9	44.1
1 - 2	113	49.6	13.3	347	17.6	32.3	248	11.3	38.3	55	32.7	12.7	332	12.3	26.8	387	5.4	33.6
3 - 4	132	40.9	12.9	459	18.1	24.0	330	9.7	34.2	101	44.6	11.9	453	19.0	15.9	568	8.6	27.1
5 or more	322	52.2	7.8	1044	23.9	15.2	829	15.1	22.8	220	52.7	4.5	1184	24.4	14.3	1501	10.3	20.5
	White Males									White Females								
0	63	22.2	30.2	107	11.2	62.6	31	3.2	80.6	26	26.9	38.5	97	9.3	46.4	84	2.4	64.3
1 - 2	449	29.4	27.8	659	7.4	58.3	205	3.4	80.5	185	35.7	21.1	609	8.2	40.7	410	3.2	61.2
3 - 4	235	36.2	18.3	320	13.1	46.9	105	6.7	62.9	142	31.7	15.5	379	12.4	27.7	228	5.7	42.1
5 or more	179	41.3	14.0	207	16.9	24.6	41	7.3	22.0	103	43.7	5.8	226	20.8	12.8	111	11.7	25.2

Table III-19

Size of Family and Educational Plans, Controlling for Grades in School

Number of Siblings	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades			Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades		
		Educational Plans %			Educational Plans %			Educational Plans %			Educational Plans %			Educational Plans %			Educational Plans %	
	N	1-2	6-7	N	1-2	6-7	N	1-2	6-7	N	1-2	6-7	N	1-2	6-7	N	1-2	6-7
0	32	18.8	12.5	96	21.9	25.0	44	15.9	43.2	23	43.5	4.3	86	12.8	34.9	76	14.5	43.4
1 - 2	102	35.3	12.7	361	23.3	29.4	214	8.4	44.9	75	12.0	10.7	347	12.7	23.9	329	6.7	39.8
3 - 4	141	44.7	10.6	478	15.3	24.5	263	9.1	38.8	103	28.2	6.8	511	19.8	17.2	460	7.4	29.6
5 or more	349	37.8	6.3	1203	23.9	15.9	540	15.6	27.2	248	32.3	6.9	1387	20.5	12.8	1134	13.1	25.0
	White Males									White Females								
0	34	35.3	38.2	110	12.7	50.9	54	0.0	77.8	22	27.3	13.6	69	13.0	30.4	116	2.6	73.3
1 - 2	257	34.2	21.8	595	12.8	44.9	447	4.3	78.3	102	29.4	11.8	476	14.5	32.4	619	4.2	60.6
3 - 4	135	37.8	18.5	308	20.1	32.5	214	7.5	63.6	78	28.2	2.6	342	18.4	18.1	324	6.2	50.0
5 or more	109	39.4	9.2	207	26.1	20.3	105	12.4	31.4	66	48.5	3.0	218	25.7	8.3	146	10.3	29.5

Table III-20

Educational Plans and Birth Order, for Different Sizes of Families, by Race and Sex

Number of Siblings	Birth Order	Scores on Educational Plans Index											
		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0		183	20.2	25.6	196	16.9	33.2	201	13.4	55.2	207	8.7	52.6
1 - 2	Oldest	323	19.2	31.9	327	8.5	30.9	628	13.7	54.3	581	9.1	47.3
"	Middle	137	21.8	27.8	196	10.7	25.5	247	11.3	49.4	214	15.4	39.7
"	Youngest	255	21.1	32.2	255	12.2	29.4	444	16.7	48.2	415	10.6	44.1
3 - 4	Oldest	254	18.9	26.7	313	18.2	21.7	182	14.2	47.3	219	11.9	35.7
"	Middle	540	19.5	23.9	669	15.0	19.6	359	22.8	36.8	369	14.7	30.7
"	Youngest	137	15.3	32.8	157	17.9	26.1	126	23.1	34.1	168	16.1	21.4
5 or more	Oldest	278	24.1	20.1	361	15.8	17.4	39	20.6	25.6	45	11.1	31.2
"	Middle	1750	26.2	15.6	2355	20.2	15.8	312	26.9	20.2	312	25.3	11.8
"	Youngest	221	20.8	20.4	236	18.2	23.7	79	26.6	16.5	83	25.3	14.4

CHAPTER IV

INTERPERSONAL INFLUENCES

Having finished our examination of purely sociological background factors as they relate to educational plans, we have accounted for quite a bit of the variance in these plans. Such impersonal, social structural variables as social class, place of residence, and family composition have generally proven to be related to differences in educational plans.

But we have been able only to speculate on the actual processes by which plans are developed in the maturing child. To have more satisfactory information on this, we turn next to a broad range of "intervening" variables dealing with the influence of other individuals on the adolescent. While perhaps dependent on the basic background factors, these indices of interpersonal influence would seem to be describing more immediate determinants of a child's level of aspiration and expectation about the future.

To begin with, we might briefly look at whom the respondents rate as "the most important to you in helping you plan for the future." The students were given a check-list which included "father," "mother," "brothers and sisters," "other relatives," "friends your own age," "school teachers," and "other adults not already mentioned." They were asked to check all who were important influences and to circle the one who was most important.

Table IV-1 shows the distribution of choices of "most important" by race and sex. It will be noted that many students -- more frequently the Negroes -- ignored directions and selected more than one category as most important. Still, the very clear picture emerges of parents being by far the most popular choices. But while about the same large percentage in all race-sex categories choose parents, Negroes and girls in general are much more likely to name mother, with white boys naming mother and father equally. Thus, while Negro males are more often influenced by father than are Negro females, the former are much less likely to name father than is the case with white males. Herein lies a striking indication of possible difference in the dynamics of socialization for Negro boys as compared with white boys.

At least part of the explanation for relatively little reported influence by Negro fathers is the greater frequency of father absence in Negro homes (see Table III-12). And the tendency for sex linkage in influence patterns is probably attributable to the greater relevance and credibility to a child of those ideas and experiences transmitted from that parent who is of the same sex as the child.

But before we place too much emphasis on these sources of influence and their race-sex comparisons, we should note that differences in educational plans are not strongly accounted for by the source of influence. As Table IV-2 shows, it is true that those who cite father as most influential do tend to have higher expectations for each race-sex grouping, and since Negroes are relatively less often influenced by father, this may contribute to the racial gap in level of educational plans. But even looking at just those influenced most by father, we continue to find that Negroes have a lower likelihood of going to college and a higher likelihood of dropping out than do whites.

Further perusal of Tables IV-1 and IV-2 reveals that teachers, followed by siblings, rank next to parents (but far behind) in frequency of being named most influential. At least six percent within each race-sex category name each of these types of persons. Same-age friends and "other adults" also are cited this often by whites, but not by Negroes.[1]

We have already noted that those influenced most by father are generally among the most likely to have high educational plans. The influence of mother is somewhat less likely to be positive, while those naming both parents as "most important" tend to be intermediate (between those naming just father or mother) in their percentage planning college. The groups are not really distinguishable in the percentage classified as potential dropouts.

School teachers are one other type of person who match father in the degree to which influence on educational planning is favorable. For those naming teachers, the percentage expecting to go to college is generally just about the same as for those naming father as most influential. In fact, among white girls, the percentage is eight points higher for those choosing teachers. In addition, the teacher-influenced have the lowest potential dropout percentage of any group of respondents (although the difference from those naming father among white males is negligible). For some adolescents, teachers obviously play the role of substitute parent in providing educational goals and aspirations. On the other hand, it will probably be the already highly motivated adolescent who will name a teacher as most influential.

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[1] It would be wise to recall the large number of unclassified Negro respondents, some of whom may have chosen these last categories, but in combination with some other responses. Parceling out these respondents might tend to bring the percentages of Negroes choosing these less popular categories even closer to the percentages shown for whites.

A final point to note from Table IV-2 is the difference found between those naming siblings and those naming friends as most influential. At least among Negroes the distinction is quite sharp. Respondents who are sibling-influenced score as high on percentage with immediate college plans as those citing father or teachers. This group has a moderate percentage in the potential dropout category. On the other hand, the Negro students who name friends as most influential stand out as most likely to be considering dropping out and least likely to be expecting to go to college. Almost 30 percent of those looking to siblings for guidance are planning on college and about 19 percent are thinking of dropping out; this compares with just over 15 percent of the friends-oriented planning to go to college and about 30 percent possibly not finishing high school. The effect of having friends as one's chief influence is also markedly detrimental for white girls, but not for white boys. At the same time, primacy of sibling influence tends to have a positive effect on plans for white boys that is similar to the effect found among Negroes. But this is not true for white girls.

We have presented the above summary of findings from Tables IV-1 and IV-2 not for the purpose of drawing any conclusions at this point about the relative importance of various sources and directions of interpersonal influence on the adolescent. Instead, we have wished simply to set the stage for the analysis that follows of the relationships between various characteristics of reference persons (and of interaction with reference persons) and educational planning of respondents. We have seen the primary importance of parents in the students' own reports. But we have also seen that teachers, siblings, and friends tend to have different kinds of influence when they are referred to. In the next few chapters, we shall explore some of the factors that contribute to the influence each of these kinds of persons may have on individual respondents. We shall look at parental factors first, and then, in turn, will examine some of the bases of influence by teachers, siblings, and friends.

Table IV-1

"Most Important Influence," by Race and Sex

Source of Influence	Race and Sex Negro Male	 Negro Female	 White Male	 White Female
Father	14.2%	7.7%	27.4%	12.6%
Mother	46.0	58.8	27.2	44.7
Both parents	9.3	7.4	11.2	8.0
Siblings	6.6	6.4	7.8	8.0
Other relatives	4.5	4.4	4.0	3.6
Friends	4.1	3.1	6.0	6.7
Teachers	11.9	9.6	10.0	9.2
Other adults	3.4	2.6	6.4	7.2
Total classifiable responses	(2485) 100.0	(3333) 100.0	(2250) 100.0	(2413) 100.0
Total non-respondents and respondents with unclassified combinations of answers	1010	1643	303	291

Table IV-2

Educational Plans and "Most Important Influence,"

by Race and Sex

	Score on Educational Plans Index											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Father	333	18.6	29.4	248	13.3	30.2	597	14.1	52.2	286	9.4	45.8
Mother	1072	19.2	23.1	1862	13.9	21.2	593	16.0	44.3	1040	13.1	33.5
Both Parents	212	19.8	24.0	231	16.4	25.6	233	16.4	51.5	171	12.3	39.2
Siblings	159	18.2	29.5	205	19.6	29.8	169	14.3	42.1	188	12.2	34.0
Other relatives	108	26.8	20.4	139	23.0	19.4	88	34.1	25.0	80	11.3	33.8
Friends	97	30.9	16.5	97	28.9	14.4	128	21.9	31.2	150	25.3	23.4
Teachers	282	12.8	28.0	306	11.8	28.4	207	14.0	49.3	211	6.6	53.6
Other adults	80	21.3	18.8	88	17.1	20.4	138	18.1	36.2	158	19.0	30.4

CHAPTER V

PARENT AND CHILD

We shall be concerned in this chapter with the effects on educational plans of parental ambitions for the child and the quality of parent-child interaction. Since the family is one of the primary agencies for the socialization of the child with respect to his major values and goals, we would expect that children whose parents value education most would be more likely to have high ambitions for continuance of their education. A number of factors affect the transmission of these values, and particularly their implementation into plans, including social class with its attendant economic and skill components, ability of the child, access to sources of information about continuing education, peer and school support for such values, etc. Assuming, however, that most parents do have high aspirations for their children, the focus turns to factors that influence the acceptance of these values by the adolescent, and for this reason we want to look at a few variables which will be indicative of the quality of the home environment and of parent-child relationships, in the hope that this will provide some clues as to why some parents are more successful than others in transmitting their educational values.

Parental Attitudes About Education

Before we inquire into the effects of actual family interaction patterns, we begin by asking whether the level of educational plans of the adolescent varies as a function of the emphasis parents place on education. That is, if parents behave and value so as to reinforce the efforts of the school, is the child more likely to respond favorably to the school program -- for example, by wishing to continue in the program?

To test this, we use an index of "Parental Support for Education" (PSE), based on answers to five questions about (1) what parents consider to be a satisfactory grade for the respondent, (2) what they do if the respondent does not finish his homework, (3 and 4) whether they understand and are interested in what the respondent is doing in school, and (5) what they would be likely to do if the respondent wanted to quit school. Scoring on the index ranges from 0 (low PSE) to 6 (high PSE).[1] On this index, there turns out to be some tendency for Negroes to view their parents as more positive about education than do whites. About one-third of the Negro boys and over two-fifths of the girls have PSE scores of 5 or 6, as compared with just around one-quarter of the white boys and girls (Table V-1).

With remarkable consistency in all categories, the assumption is borne out that greater parental support for education is associated with higher levels of attainment expected by the child. There is only one reversal from the general pattern of rising percentage of college planners and falling percentage of potential dropouts with rising level of PSE. At the highest PSE score, fewer than ten percent in any race-sex category (only 1.2 percent among white males) are uncertain of completing high school, whereas at the lowest score, nearly half are uncertain (well over half in the case of Negro males). In general, we can conclude that the effect of PSE on the likelihood of finishing high school is very similar for the two races.

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[1] The items used in this scale are questions 50, 52, 53, 54, and 56 (See Appendix A). The cutting points between differently weighted response categories were established so as to maximize internal consistency -- the same procedure used in all of the indexes in this chapter. A detailed description of the scoring can be obtained from the authors.

But the effect on college planning does show a marked racial difference. At the lowest level of PSE, fewer than one in ten in any category plan college. But when there is a high PSE score, the proportion who intend to go to college among whites is roughly twice that found among Negroes. Without parental interest and support, children do not plan to go to college regardless of race. But while increasing parental encouragement and support is associated with some increase in college planning for Negroes, the majority still do not expect to get a college education even if their parents rate highest on PSE. Among whites, over half of the girls and nearly three-quarters of the boys with maximum PSE scores are classified as college-planners. Whereas for whites the proportion planning college when PSE score is high is considerably greater than the proportion uncertain of high school graduation when PSE is low, the reverse is true among Negroes.

Thus, while strong parental support for education is a little more common among Negroes than among whites, it is not nearly so often associated with college plans in the former group. Since the PSE items point mainly to high school performance, perhaps parental encouragement is perceived as aimed mainly at high school graduation among Negroes -- already a significant rise in educational attainment over that of a large proportion of the parents. Or perhaps parental support for education is just more likely to be undercut by other features of the Negro community than it is among whites.

A possible clue does appear from answers to the question "What do your parents want you to do after you leave high school?" The most positive answer to this is, of course, to "continue my education in a regular college or university." Unlike the case with high scores on PSE, Negroes are not overrepresented in this response category. A little over 40 percent of the Negroes, along with a similar percentage of white girls, answered this way. But 57.8 percent of the white males report that their parents want them to go to college. This certainly suggests that at least some of the unusually large number of Negro parents rated high on PSE are, as we speculated earlier, focusing on high school graduation as the ultimate goal in education.

At the same time, the hypothesis that positive influences are more susceptible to undercutting among Negroes is also substantiated by cross-tabulating respondent's educational plans with parental desires for respondent's future education. There is very little racial difference in plans, especially when sex is controlled for, among those whose parents do not want them to go on to college. But if parents do desire a college education for their child, white youngsters are much more likely than Negroes to be planning to fulfill their parents' wishes. Table V-2 shows these results.

In general, a larger proportion of the youth with non-college-oriented parents may drop out than intend to go to college. The lowest level of educational plans is found among those whose parents want the child either to get a job or to go into the armed forces after high school. In this group, around three out of eight -- the percentage is as high as 41.3 for white boys -- are uncertain about graduating, while no more than 2.1 percent in any race-sex category say they will go to college. College ambitions are also relatively rare among those of either race or sex whose parents "don't care much" or want the respondent to get some further non-college training after high school. The intermediate results of this category may be due to inclusion of some whose parents have positive educational values, but are permissive. It is noteworthy, though, that the likelihood of dropping out seems appreciably reduced if parents are directing the child toward some "special training" after high school.

The highest level of plans is found for all groups among those with parents who desire college for their children. A little over 40 percent of Negro students in this category have plans for attending college right after high school, and somewhat over ten percent are actually contemplating dropping out before high school graduation. This compares with 70.1 percent of the white boys and 80.1 percent of the white girls who expect to go to college if their parents want them to, and just 8.0 and 4.2 percent of these boys and girls, respectively, who are potential dropouts. It is obvious, then, that the lower level of expectation among Negroes is not due, in any important degree, to lack of higher ambitions of their parents. The greater prevalence of negative influences to counteract positive factors in the Negro student's environment continues to be an obvious possible explanation that we shall want to explore in later sections where we look at the combined effects of various factors on educational plans.

Parent-Child Interaction

Having shown that a strong relationship exists for most adolescents between their own plans and the values and goals of their parents, we now turn to certain aspects of the parent-child interaction. We see this as relevant in two important ways. Given a set of ambitious goals and values on the part of the parents, their transmission and acceptance by the child will be facilitated when the home environment is congenial, when relationships with parents are close and characterized by mutual respect, and when interaction is democratic. The quality of interaction is known from other studies to affect acceptance of parents as role models and of parents' values, and we would expect it to hold for our problem as well.

In the second place, a congenial home environment provides a setting in which the child can make maximum use of the kinds of intellectual and social stimulation which exist, and in which he can develop his own plans for the future with minimum emotional and mental conflict. It is possible that high educational expectations and intimacy in the family are both expressions of an underlying optimism or security or general satisfaction in life, reflected in ambitions for continued achievement. Although our data do not enable us to demonstrate the existence of such mechanisms, we can examine the relationships between plans and several indices of quality of parent-child relations to see the extent to which they are consistent with such theory.

The indexes of Relations with Father and Relations with Mother are each formed by combining responses to four questions into nine-point scales. The dimensions of intimacy and respect for the parent are both considered in these indexes, with a score of 0 denoting the extreme of "distant" relations and 8 denoting very "close" relations.[2] Before looking at the association between these indexes and educational plans, let us make some brief general observations about the distribution of index scores in the different race-sex categories: (1) for all groups, except white males, there is a tendency to report closer relations with mother than with father; (2) there is some tendency for sex linkage, with girls more strongly tied to mothers and boys relating more closely to fathers; and (3) whites and Negroes of a given sex are similarly distributed in their relations with father, but Negroes tend to report closer relations with mother than do whites.

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[2] The index of relations with mother is derived from items B21, B22, B25, and B26 of the questionnaire. Items B27, B28, B31, and B32 are used in the index for fathers.

It is clear from Tables V-3 and V-4 that educational plans are considerably higher when the relations with either father or mother are close. Most striking is the fact that this variable is much more closely associated with dropout tendency that it is with college planning. Whereas college planning is between approximately a fourth to a half greater in the close as in the distant relationship groups, about three times as many potential dropouts are found in the latter group. The effect of low educational plans is somewhat greater for Negroes, possibly because the Negro has fewer sources of support and encouragement, and possibly because he needs maximum push and influence from home in the lack of such strong achievement norms as the white student has. On the other hand, the effect of parent relationships on college plans appears stronger for the white student, again possibly explained in terms of support needed for going beyond minimum group norms.

Perhaps surprisingly, sex of respondent and parent does not seem to affect the general findings to any appreciable degree. White males tend more often than females to be college planners at all levels of closeness to either parent. And only the slightest trend appears to indicate that Negro males may benefit more than females, at least in motivation to attend college, by being close to mother, rather than father.

Let us now try to identify some of the more specific features of parent-child relations that may affect educational plans. Is the way in which decisions are made between parent and child an important factor? Is the perceived reasonableness of parents of any significance? What about the possible effects of variations in the degree to which children can be sure of what their parents expect of them? And, to return for a moment more specifically to academic matters, are there likely to be differences in plans for those who differ in the treatment they receive from parents for substandard grades?

On the question of decision-making between child and parent, the distribution of responses is about the same for both sexes, but there are some interesting racial differences. (Tables V-5 and V-6). Negro students are more apt to view their parents as authoritarian. Almost two-fifths of the Negroes, but only one-fifth of the whites report that mother either just "tells me what to do" or that "she listens to me, but makes the decision herself." About the same proportion of Negroes answer in the same way with regard to father, while the white percentage rises somewhat to around 30 -- still well below the figure for Negroes. On the other hand, what might be considered a qualified democratic parent-child relationship ("I can often make my own decisions, but he/she has the final word") seems to be more common among whites. About 38 percent report this for relations with mother and about 35 percent report it for father; in both cases, this is nearly ten points higher than the percentages for Negroes. Whites are also somewhat more likely than Negroes to choose responses indicating even greater permissiveness by mothers, though this is not so clearly true for fathers. About 15 percent of the whites, as compared to about 12 percent of the Negroes, say that their opinions are "as important as my mother's in deciding what I should do." And about 24 percent of the whites, versus 18 percent of the Negroes, say they are allowed to "make my own decision, but she would like me to consider her opinion." These last two responses garner a total of between 25 and 30 percent of the answers in both racial groups, when we turn to the question of father-child decisions. To complete the picture of answers to these questions, we should note that very few students report a completely "laissez-faire" relationship between them and their parents. Not even two percent in any subgroup checked either "I can do what I want regardless of what my mother thinks" or "[She] doesn't care what I do." The percentage rises to no more than 5.7 for decisions with father.

There is apparently a wide range of parent-child decision-making patterns that are about equally conducive to high educational plans among our respondents (Tables V-5 and V-6). At one time or another, the percentage of college planners is highest and the dropout potential is lowest for those in either "democratic,"[3] "equalitarian"[4] or "permissive"[5] relationships with their parents.[6] It might be said that decisions must involve both parties, but with a fair degree of independence allowed the child in order for optimum educational planning to occur. What is even more striking, however, is the markedly reduced level of educational goals for children experiencing either the extremes of parental autocracy or parental abdication of authority. This seems especially to be true when mothers are involved. When the mother uses either an authoritarian or a complete laissez-faire approach to decisions concerning what the child should do, the chances are especially bleak that the child will expect to go to college and very high proportions, especially of the Negroes, may even drop out. When we remember that Negroes are more likely than whites to report their parents as autocratic (particularly their mothers), we see another possible contributor to the overall racial gap observed in educational plans. Negroes are again overrepresented in a stiuation that is associated with low college ambitions regardless of race.

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[3] "I can often make my own decisions, but she/he has the final word."

[4] "My opinions are as important as my mother's/father's in deciding what I should do."

[5] "I can make my own decisions, but she/he would like me to consider her/his opinion."

[6] In these response categories, whites tend to have a sizably greater likelihood of planning for college, but the racial difference in dropout potential is not so great. This is still another example of Negro students' educational plans not rising as rapidly as those of whites under conditions most favorable to a high level of plans.

This might have been expected because of the already established negative relationship between social class and authoritarianism and the positive relationship that we have found between social class and level of educational plans. But we should not dismiss the possibility that we are looking here at one of the features or correlates of low social class that is a direct determinant of lowered ambition. And it happens to be a phenomenon that occurs more often among Negroes. The need for guidance, but not a stifling of independent action, by parents is something that might be worth communicating to those charged with bringing up the next generation.

Related to the above are the findings that a student is more likely to have high educational goals when (a) he sees his parents as generally reasonable in their ideas on how he should behave (Table V-7) and (b) he is relatively sure of what they expect of him (Table V-8). In both tables, the association appears to be greatest for white males. One of these optimum conditions is also found more often among whites than among Negroes; more of the former's parents are reported as being "usually reasonable" about rules. But there is no clear racial difference in how well respondents know what their parents expect of them -- whites more often say they "usually know," but Negroes are more often either less or more sure than this -- they answer more frequently "I have no idea what they expect," "I am sometimes in doubt," or "I always know."

One suspects that it is not the reasonableness of the rules per se, nor the certain knowledge of parents' expectations, that bears the critical relation to educational plans. The essence of these characteristics may well be in the parental efforts and effectiveness in communication, as well as in the order, security, and certitude in the respondent's life which they reflect. If a young person knows what is expected of him, then he can make plans for the future in greater comfort and certainty; and if he regards the rules he lives under as reasonable (or if they are reasonable), then he need not commit energy to opposing them, and he can, instead, direct himself to self-development and self-improvement. Knowing, understanding, and accepting his world, he makes more certain (and effective) plans for acting within it. It is quite likely that this is more a middle- and upper-class phenomenon. What we may be pinpointing here is one of the features that contribute to the higher educational plans of children in these classes.

Table V-9 sheds a little more light on the kind of parental behavior that may lead to greater educational ambitions in children. Students were given four responses to choose from in answering the question: "What do your parents do if you do not get the kind of grades they think you should?" In all race-sex categories, the majority of students checked the response: "They talk with me about it." White girls are the most apt to report this as the way their parents handle the situation -- 74.4 percent of them selected this answer, as compared to 65.7 percent of the white boys and about 63 percent of the Negroes of either sex. The latter three groups, but especially the Negroes, were more likely to say that their parents either "bawled [them] out" or "punished [them] in some way" for unsatisfactory grades. Only four or five percent of the respondents in any group reported an "indifferent" response from parents ("they don't do anything").

In relating these parental reaction styles to the educational plans of students, we find in Table V-9 that "talk" is somewhat more associated with high educational goals than is "punishment" among whites, but not among Negroes. At the same time, a "bawling out" is more associated with high goals than is "indifference' for Negroes, but not for whites.

Perhaps part of the confusion here is due to differences in meaning within the two racial groups. "Talking" about it may indicate for many in the Negro community a relatively low level of concern about the poor grades; some form of punishment for these persons may be seen as a more effective communication of concern -- albeit not all that effective since over three-quarters of those who are punished do not expect to go to college. (But it does at least reduce the likelihood that the respondent will contemplate not finishing high school.) At the same time, perhaps more of the non-action by whites -- called "indifference" here -- may, in reality reflect a relatively healthy intention of parents to encourage autonomous action and self-reliance. If so, the child is not as likely to regard non-action as meaning "they couldn't care less." On the other hand, Negro parents who do care may feel more compelled to take some positive corrective action, even if it is just to "bawl out" the child, because of a possibly greater likelihood that failure to act will be interpreted by the Negro child as callous indifference and non-support. Hence, the relatively more positive educational goals of Negro students, as compared to whites, who are "bawled out," rather than receiving no reaction, in response to poor grades.

We now turn to a final measure of the quality of the family milieu in which the growing child develops his aspirations and plans for the future. If our assumption is correct that a congenial family atmosphere and feelings of security contribute to higher educational ambitions in the child, then we would expect the level of plans to be positively related to the degree of happiness in his parents' marriage observed by the child. Using a six-point scale of marital happiness based on the combined scores from two items,[7] we see in Table V-10 that such a relationship does exist. Increased marital happiness of parents appears to affect the college plans of whites more than Negroes. The percentage with strong college intentions is over 15 points higher for whites whose parents are rated most happy, as compared to those rated least happy. The range is only about five percentage points for Negroes. But the effect on dropout possibilities is much greater and seems to be about the same in both races; there is almost a 15-point reduction in the percentage uncertain of finishing high school in all subgroups as we move from those with "least happy" to those with "most happy" parents. This, incidentally, turns out to be another instance where whites are more heavily represented at the positive end of the independent variable; over one-third of the whites of each sex score their parents as either 4 or 5 on marital happiness, compared to 26.6 percent of the males and just 22.3 percent of the females among Negroes.

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[7] The index of marital happiness is based on items B33 and B34.

And so we emerge from our look at parental correlates of educational plans with information that not only the unbroken home, but also the home where parent-child relations are close and based on mutual trust is likely to produce a relatively high level of ambition in the child. Moreover, the kind of family conditions that can provide a basic feeling of security in the child may well contribute to planning for high educational attainment. And, perhaps most important of all, strong expression of parental support for education itself appears a most valuable influence in expanding the expectations of the child. It is significant that these family conditions appear, in several variables, to affect the minimal level of aspiration (completion of high school) more than college planning, and the latter is mainly affected for white students. We can only conclude that there are two types of forces in operation here. On the one hand, poor family conditions act as a depressant on ambition in general, through a number of intervening variables, and make it more unlikely that parental aspiration will be transmitted. At the same time the adolescent is likely to be pushed toward association with peers who also have low parent orientation and who share low values of education. These conditions appear to hold strongly for both races and both sexes in our sample.

On the other hand, the anchoring points for aspiration seem to be different for white and Negro students. For the Negro, high school graduation represents a modal expectation level and going beyond that is considered to be an "extra," not necessary for most, nor really expected as a measure of self-fulfillment. For the ambitious white student, however, and particularly those in the middle class, high school graduation is only a step in the direction of a college degree. Hence the difference between white and Negro students in which family conditions affect the two levels of educational aspiration and planning.

Introduction of "Talent" Controls

In previous chapters, we noted the strong relationships between educational plans and scholastic ability, academic commitment, and school grades. These variables are re-introduced at this point first to examine their relationship with parental support of education, and then to use them as controls for the relationship between educational plans and PSE and certainty about parental expectations, two independent variables which appear to be representative of those discussed in this chapter.

In Table V-11, the relationship is shown between the two extremes of the index of parental support of education and scholastic ability level, academic commitment, and school grades. The relationship with the educational plans index has been discussed before, and is included here in summary form for comparison. Parental support is seen as related to the level of scholastic ability of the student, with more support (or "push") given to students at higher ability levels. For the white students this relationship is fairly strong -- males with low parental support, for example, have only 21 percent in the high ability group compared with 45 percent of those receiving high parental support. White parents, apparently, support and encourage their children with some view to the ability level of the student. By comparison, there is relatively little difference in ability levels of Negro students receiving strong and weak support from their parents. We would again interpret these results in terms of differences in modal expectation levels -- Negro parents are more typically encouraging their children to complete high school and lower ability levels are sufficient for this objective, while white parents tend more often to take it for granted that their children will complete high school and do not encourage them strongly unless they see a level of ability that could carry them on into college, a realistic and probably humane course.

The degree of academic commitment is, in general, more strongly related to parental support than the other three variables in this table. The relationship is a little higher for Negroes than for whites, possibly because there are fewer other sources of influence for commitment for Negroes, whereas white students are a little less influenced in their own attitudes by the expectations of parents -- at least on the level of support consisting of working hard in high school, and, again, they may be focusing on the longer-range goals with less concern for high school achievement.

Parental support, as we have measured it, does help produce higher grades -- the ratio of the percentage of students receiving high vs. low grades is vastly higher when the parents apply pressure, and this is particularly true for the white students. This may seem, on the surface, to be contradictory with the interpretation given for the academic commitment results. However, there _is_ a high relationship between support and commitment for white students, even though the relationship is not as high as for Negroes, and we would interpret the present finding as stemming from the production of effort and grades under pressure even if commitment is not quite as high, whereas Negro students, reacting to pressure and parental expectations with high commitment, are not able to produce grades in quite as high a proportion, possibly because of ability level differences, or because they are more likely, as we have shown, to be pushed by parental support with less ability justification. The differences are not big enough to make a major case out of such interpretation, but the reasoning we have given may apply to enough children to explain these results.

Tables V-12, 13, and 14 show that PSE continues to be related to educational plans, even with controls of scholastic ability, commitment, and performance introduced. In all of the race-sex subgroups, the level of educational plans (using either the dropout or college-planning criterion) consistently rises with rising PSE scores, regardless of the "talent" level of the student.

When the effects of both PSE and the "talent" variables are in the same direction, educational plans tend to be polarized -- that is, most likely to be high when both PSE and "talent" are high, and most likely to be low when both of these variables are low. And when either one is high and the other is low, there is an intermediate likelihood of having high educational ambitions. Thus, it would seem that plans may be affected independently by each of these apparently antecedent variables, but the combined effects of both working positively is associated with the greatest likelihood of college-going intentions and with the least likelihood that dropping out will be contemplated.

We must point out, however, that the effects of positive influences continue to be greatest for whites. Over three-quarters of the white males expect to go to college if they have strong parental support for education and either high scholastic ability, high academic commitment, or high grades in school. The corresponding proportion of Negro males is only about one-third or a little higher. Similarly, 75.8 percent of white girls with high PSE and high SAL are planning to go to college right after high school, as compared to just 42.2 percent of the Negro girls in the same category. The percentages drop a bit when AC or grades is substituted for SAL, but the same large racial difference persists. Thus, all groups are more likely to be thinking seriously about college if they have both parental support and apparent "talent," but this is certainly more strikingly true for whites than for Negroes.

One other thing to note is that PSE does seem to have greater influence than scholastic ability on the likelihood of dropping out. In general, a student does not entertain thoughts of early school leaving even if he has relatively low ability, just so long as he receives encouragement about school from his parents. Even among Negro males, where 21.9 percent of these high-PSE-low-SAL respondents are in the potential dropout category, this percentage is still appreciably lower than what is found among those with high SAL and low PSE. Without parental support, even the brighter students are relatively more often uncertain about finishing high school. We do not find the same pattern consistently when academic commitment or grades is used instead of SAL as our measure of "talent." This is probably because AC and grades can be thought of as subsequent in time to PSE -- not the case with SAL. If high parental support is rejected -- as indicated with low AC or grades, but not with low SAL -- the result is no more likely to be elevated educational plans than if PSE had been low and AC or grades had been high. In the latter case, students might want to attain a higher level of education, but adjust their expectations because of parental discouragement; in the former case, parental encouragement has already been dismissed and is relatively unlikely to induce a high level of educational planning.

But where ability, rather than commitment or performance, is lacking, the child will usually plan to finish high school at least, as long as his parents give him the necessary encouragement.

Now, turning to Tables V-15, 16, and 17, we look at how "talent" combines with a measure of parent-child interaction in relationship to educational planning. We have grouped responses to the question on certainty of parental expectations into just two categories for summary purposes. These two categories are (1) relatively uncertain -- "I have no idea what they expect," "I am sometimes in doubt," and "I know fairly well," and (2) relatively certain -- "I usually know" and "I always know." This dichotomy corresponds to the division noted in Table V-8 between those categories with generally high educational ambitions and those with lower ambitions.

Here, again, we find that educational expectations tend to be highest when both types of independent variables are making a positive contribution. Conversely, when respondents are uncertain of their parents' expectations and are low in either scholastic ability, commitment, or performance, then they are least likely to be planning for college and most likely to be anticipating dropping out.

But here the two types of variables do not seem to have the approximately equal effect on educational plans that was found in the combinations of commitment and grades with PSE. The "talent" measures seem consistently more important. Highly "talented" students have relatively high ambitions, even if they are at least sometimes uncertain of their parents' expectations. This is in comparison with those who are relatively certain of their parents but who are low on "talent." Thus, a good parent-child relationship apparently cannot compensate for "talent" deficiencies as well as good "talent" can make up for inadequancies in parental guidance -- at least in the production of high educational ambitions.

Summary

From the findings of Tables V-15, 16, and 17, as well as from this entire chapter, we may conclude that the actual content of parental communication about academic subjects (as indexed by PSE) is, perhaps, the most important influence that parents can have on students' educational plans for the future. A strong parental endorsement of education can be an effective complement of a student's own academic "talent" (which may, of course, be strengthened in some ways by such endorsement) in contributing to a high educational attainment goal. In fact, perceived parental support for education seems often to be enough to induce at least the firm intention to finish high school even among those with the poorest academic ability.

Other features of parent-child relationships have also been found to be associated with variations in the educational plans of respondents. When parents develop feelings of security and mutual trust in their dealings with their children, the latter are more likely to have high educational expectations. However, the association with school plans is generally not as strong as that between plans and parental support for education. Nor do these other factors appear as important as "talent" in affecting plans.

In general, though, we have found much support in this chapter for the common contention that parents have a great influence on the aspirations and expectations of their children. We shall now turn to other persons who may also exercise such influence. In the next chapter, we look at how another significant adult, the teacher, may affect the educational plans of our respondents.

Table V-1

Educational Plans and Parental Support for Education,

by Race and Sex

Parental Support for Education Index Score	Score on Educational Plans Index											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0 (Low)	189	56.1	5.3	153	46.4	9.1	109	46.8	9.2	81	45.7	6.1
1	348	45.9	6.6	294	43.6	9.2	234	41.9	12.8	175	34.8	15.4
2	526	31.6	10.4	520	29.6	9.8	396	26.7	29.3	372	23.4	23.7
3	751	25.7	16.3	766	24.2	13.5	603	18.9	40.3	582	13.9	27.0
4	956	16.7	25.6	1176	14.6	21.2	640	10.8	48.9	663	9.6	39.0
5	926	13.3	28.2	1310	8.9	25.7	419	6.0	63.5	467	3.4	51.2
6 (High)	468	9.9	36.4	894	6.9	27.8	158	1.2	72.1	168	6.0	59.5

Table V-2

Educational Plans and Parental Wishes for Respondent's Post-High School Activity, by Race and Sex

Parents' Wishes for Post-High School Activity	Score on Educational Plans Index											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Don't care much	197	27.4	6.6	184	36.4	5.4	137	29.9	8.7	138	30.4	10.2
Get job or armed forces	1379	36.1	2.1	788	38.9	1.0	532	41.3	1.8	407	36.3	1.2
Special education	686	21.9	8.0	1939	13.9	3.2	429	18.2	14.9	955	12.9	3.9
College education	1991	13.9	41.5	2308	11.6	42.6	1524	8.0	70.1	1109	4.2	80.1

Table V-3

Educational Plans and Relations with Mother, Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Relations with Mother	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0-2 (distant)	437	39.8	17.1	548	33.0	18.0	588	26.0	35.5	508	23.4	30.1
3-4	957	25.8	18.8	1093	23.2	19.9	766	18.7	46.0	595	15.1	33.4
5-6	1391	20.2	23.2	1721	15.8	18.9	788	13.9	44.5	777	11.7	37.9
7-8 (close)	952	12.5	28.4	1701	9.0	22.9	402	9.3	51.7	732	8.3	40.5

Table V-4

Educational Plans and Relations with Father,

by Race and Sex

Relations with Father	Score on Educational Plans Index											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0-2 (distant)	944	28.2	20.9	1774	24.8	16.7	726	23.2	36.2	922	18.7	27.6
3-4	918	24.4	22.7	1430	14.8	21.0	684	19.1	44.4	696	12.5	37.5
5-6	962	20.2	22.0	1052	10.1	24.3	598	13.7	48.1	583	9.0	44.9
7-8 (close)	735	11.5	26.2	377	7.6	26.2	466	10.0	52.5	302	8.9	42.4

Table V-5

Educational Plans and Mother-Child Decision-Making Pattern, by Race and Sex

Decision-making Pattern	Score on Educational Plans Index											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Autocratic- "(She) just tells me what to do."	673	28.4	14.7	766	23.9	14.0	237	30.4	26.6	187	21.9	20.9
Authoritarian- "She listens to me, but makes decision herself."	815	21.6	18.9	1162	15.6	17.4	343	21.3	39.1	333	17.7	35.1
Democratic- "I can often make ... decision, but she has ... final word."	1092	18.6	28.1	1505	14.8	24.0	945	14.5	50.6	1003	12.3	39.5
Equalitarian- "My opinions are as important as (hers) in deciding ...."	460	22.0	22.1	592	14.8	25.3	372	14.0	44.6	398	11.8	37.0
Permissive- I can make ... decision but she (likes) me to consider her opinion."	664	18.3	27.9	925	16.2	22.2	605	17.2	44.7	653	12.9	36.8
Laissez Faire- "I can do what I want regardless of what she thinks" or "She doesn't care."	70	41.4	4.3	61	36.1	3.2	38	26.3	23.7	31	22.6	6.5

Table V-6

Educational Plans and Father-Child Decision-Making Pattern, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Decision-making Pattern	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Autocratic- "(He) just tells me what to do."	784	26.1	18.5	929	22.5	14.8	405	25.2	31.2	366	22.1	27.0
Authoritarian- "He listens to me, but makes decision himself."	691	21.5	19.3	984	14.5	20.5	411	17.1	43.8	413	12.2	37.7
Democratic- "I can often make ... decision, but he has ... final word."	890	17.6	26.4	1117	14.3	22.6	894	12.4	54.2	815	11.0	41.8
Equalitarian- "My opinions are as important as (his) in deciding ...."	414	23.7	23.7	508	15.8	24.4	282	17.4	39.0	296	10.2	35.1
Permissive- "I can make ... decision but he (likes) me to consider his opinion."	542	16.8	30.5	736	14.1	23.1	391	19.4	45.0	474	11.8	36.7
Laissez Faire- "I can do what I want regardless of what he thinks" or "He doesn't care ...."	191	29.8	14.7	262	28.2	14.9	73	30.1	26.0	102	25.5	21.6

Table V-7

Educational Plans and Reasonableness of Parents' Rules, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Reasonableness of Parents' Rules	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Unreasonable at least half the time	1119	33.5	14.3	1221	25.1	15.2	540	36.4	21.6	499	26.8	21.8
More Reasonable than unreasonable	1150	19.2	23.4	1555	15.0	21.0	776	16.5	41.6	742	12.2	33.2
Usually Reasonable	1484	13.9	28.6	2169	13.0	23.6	1247	10.0	55.3	1374	9.6	43.2

Table V-8

Educational Plans and Certainty About Parental Expectations, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Degree of Certainty about Parents' Expectations	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		Percent			Percent			Percent			Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
No idea what they expect	255	37.2	8.7	220	38.2	6.3	53	56.6	13.2	25	24.0	32.0
Sometimes in doubt	221	40.3	15.4	342	27.2	12.0	143	37.1	24.5	155	25.2	24.5
Know fairly well	528	33.3	12.6	464	29.7	13.4	344	31.4	27.3	170	25.9	21.1
Usually know	1400	16.8	27.0	1704	15.1	21.9	1284	14.5	44.6	1171	13.1	36.4
Always know	1420	16.4	25.8	2314	12.1	23.5	744	10.4	56.7	1096	10.3	40.3

Table V-9

Educational Plans and Parents' Actions if Respondent Gets "Unsatisfactory" Grade, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Parents' actions if grade expectations not realized	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Don't do or say anything	168	36.9	11.9	208	34.2	14.4	111	28.8	29.7	153	25.5	28.8
Talk with respondent about it	2635	23.3	21.3	3257	16.3	21.6	1717	14.9	48.1	1923	10.9	38.6
Bawl respondent out	667	25.6	20.2	725	21.2	16.3	355	29.0	25.9	189	27.5	23.3
Punish respondent in some way	774	18.5	25.0	997	15.3	19.0	411	17.3	42.8	320	17.8	30.4

Table V-10

Educational Plans and Marital Happiness,

by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Marital Happiness Scale Score	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0-1 (Low)	688	31.4	19.3	1093	25.4	18.4	491	25.1	36.9	630	21.6	27.3
2	854	24.6	20.1	1126	19.6	18.6	454	20.7	37.9	446	15.2	35.0
3	1013	18.8	23.8	1297	12.5	21.9	634	16.1	42.56	557	12.0	35.7
4-5 (High)	930	16.7	25.8	999	10.9	22.6	837	12.7	53.9	835	8.1	44.6

Table V-11

Percentage "Low" and "High" on Educational Plans, Scholastic Ability Level, Academic Commitment, and Grades in School, for Respondents "Low" and "High" on Parental Support for Education, by Race and Sex.

Parental Support for Education Index Score	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	Scores on Educational Plans Index											
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0 - 2	1063	40.1	8.2	967	36.5	9.5	739	34.5	21.1	628	29.5	19.1
5 - 6	1394	12.2	31.0	2204	8.1	26.6	577	4.7	65.9	635	4.1	53.4
	Scholastic Ability Level											
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		Low	High		Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
0 - 2	285	38.2	24.2	281	40.2	26.3	495	44.0	20.6	423	46.3	22.9
5 - 6	363	30.3	36.9	603	29.5	31.8	371	25.3	45.3	417	25.4	42.7
	Degree of Academic Commitment											
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		Low	High		Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
0 - 2	1035	32.9	14.7	949	23.7	21.8	729	61.2	3.8	625	34.9	13.1
5 - 6	1371	3.2	58.6	2186	1.8	70.2	574	12.2	32.6	633	5.7	53.1
	School Grades											
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		Low	High		Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
0 - 2	977	28.2	13.6	901	16.6	27.4	719	31.6	16.7	617	19.4	29.2
5 - 6	1321	9.5	37.9	2087	6.0	51.1	567	9.5	53.3	630	4.0	61.6

Table V-12

Educational Plans and Parental Support for Education, Controlling for Scholastic Ability Level

Parental Support for Education Score	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7
0-2	109	45.9	2.8	107	43.0	5.6	69	30.4	18.8	113	40.7	4.4	94	33.0	7.4	74	23.0	14.9
3-4	181	30.9	11.0	193	18.7	18.1	164	9.8	31.1	231	29.4	8.7	194	16.0	12.9	160	11.9	31.3
5-6	110	21.9	14.5	119	7.6	21.0	134	9.7	38.1	178	8.4	15.2	233	5.6	21.0	192	3.1	42.2
	White Males									White Females								
0-2	218	43.1	11.0	175	30.3	26.9	102	14.7	44.1	196	30.1	12.2	130	34.6	14.6	97	18.6	42.3
3-4	268	22.4	28.0	286	14.7	46.2	280	5.0	67.5	303	13.9	16.8	308	11.0	35.7	249	5.2	60.2
5-6	94	8.5	44.7	109	2.8	59.6	168	2.4	83.3	106	5.7	26.4	133	3.8	47.4	178	0.6	75.8

Table V-13

Educational Plans and Parental Support for Education,

Controlling for Academic Commitment

Parental Support for Education Score	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Academic Commitment			Med. Adademic Commitment			High Academic Commitment			Low Academic Commitment			Med. Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment		
	N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0-2	340	63.2	3.5	543	33.1	11.2	152	23.0	11.8	225	55.1	2.7	517	33.5	10.4	207	21.3	15.0
3-4	231	36.8	16.5	908	19.4	20.4	542	15.1	26.4	137	42.3	11.7	937	20.8	16.8	838	11.6	21.3
5-6	44	31.8	22.8	523	13.6	28.3	804	9.7	33.3	37	32.4	27.0	614	11.7	23.1	1535	5.9	27.8
	White Males									White Females								
0-2	446	44.2	11.9	255	19.6	34.1	28	17.9	53.6	218	49.1	7.3	325	21.5	22.2	82	9.8	35.4
3-4	402	24.6	31.1	688	10.5	49.7	145	6.9	60.0	199	25.1	22.1	690	10.1	32.0	349	6.6	42.1
5-6	70	11.4	42.9	317	5.0	64.0	187	1.6	77.5	36	16.7	41.7	261	3.8	44.8	336	3.0	61.0

Table V-14

Educational Plans and Parental Support for Education

Controlling for Grades in School

Parental Support for Education Score	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Grades			Med. Grades			High Grades			Low Grades			Med. Grades			High Grades		
	N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0-2	276	55.1	3.6	568	36.2	9.0	133	28.6	19.5	150	45.3	2.0	504	37.1	7.7	247	26.7	18.2
3-4	245	27.3	11.4	914	20.2	19.6	444	15.1	33.8	192	28.1	6.3	948	17.0	16.6	693	14.3	25.4
5-6	125	25.6	13.6	695	12.2	29.5	501	6.6	38.9	125	13.6	16.0	895	9.8	20.9	1067	5.0	33.8
	White Males									White Females								
0-2	227	49.3	12.8	372	30.1	20.7	120	17.5	40.0	120	46.7	2.5	317	33.8	13.6	180	9.4	41.1
3-4	250	30.0	22.0	619	12.9	41.7	360	5.8	67.2	126	25.4	8.7	554	12.8	24.5	547	7.1	49.0
5-6	54	9.3	35.2	211	6.2	56.4	302	2.0	79.5	25	16.0	20.0	217	8.3	32.7	388	1.0	67.3

Table V-15

Educational Plans and Certainty About Parents' Expectations,

Controlling for Scholastic Ability Level

Certainty About Parents' Expectations	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7
Relatively Uncertain*	107	43.9	5.6	104	31.7	8.7	77	23.4	20.8	128	41.4	7.8	104	26.9	7.7	88	15.9	22.7
Relatively Certain**	241	25.7	12.4	289	18.0	18.7	278	10.8	37.1	379	18.7	10.8	416	10.8	17.8	348	8.0	36.5
	White Males									White Females								
Relatively Uncertain	157	42.7	12.7	108	32.4	25.9	85	11.8	51.8	103	28.2	10.7	81	28.4	14.8	66	15.2	47.0
Relatively Certain	409	21.5	29.6	467	13.9	48.0	488	4.9	71.9	517	14.5	19.3	513	12.1	37.6	495	4.4	5.5

* Refers to the following responses: "I have no idea what they expect," "I am sometimes in doubt," and "I know fairly well."

** Refers to the following responses: "I usually know" or "I always know."

Table V-16

Educational Plans and Certainty About Parents' Expectations

Controlling for Academic Commitment

Certainty About Parents' Expectations	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Academic Commitment			Med. Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment			Low Academic Commitment			Med. Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment		
	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7	N	Educational Plans % 1-2	Educational Plans % 6-7
Relative uncertain	241	58.1	5.8	503	31.0	15.1	237	20.7	13.9	140	56.4	2.1	502	31.3	9.6	362	19.3	17.7
Relatively certain	322	38.2	13.7	1322	16.3	23.6	1132	9.8	33.7	239	41.0	11.7	1526	17.5	19.8	2209	7.2	26.3
	White Males									White Females								
Relatively uncertain	286	47.2	15.7	221	27.1	33.0	30	10.0	60.0	104	53.8	13.5	175	17.7	24.0	69	1.4	37.7
Relatively certain	613	26.8	26.4	1053	8.0	55.2	348	3.7	70.7	351	29.9	17.9	1140	10.7	34.2	766	5.1	52.9

Table V-17

Educational Plans and Certainty About Parents' Expectations, Controlling for Grades in School

Certainty About Parents' Expectations	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Grades			Med. Grades			High Grades			Low Grades			Med. Grades			High Grades		
	N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %		N	Educational Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Relatively uncertain	211	48.8	3.8	532	33.3	13.3	185	23.2	21.6	135	35.6	6.7	500	31.6	8.2	313	20.4	20.1
Relatively certain	353	30.0	12.2	1484	16.5	23.7	834	9.7	38.6	324	25.3	8.0	1794	14.7	18.8	1708	9.0	31.0
	White Males									White Females								
Relatively uncertain	168	54.2	10.7	261	29.4	25.6	99	15.2	49.5	61	34.4	8.2	156	35.3	15.4	125	8.0	42.4
Relatively certain	352	28.1	24.1	935	13.4	42.4	711	4.1	71.9	209	33.5	6.7	949	14.5	24.7	1083	5.0	56.9

CHAPTER VI

THE INFLUENCE OF TEACHERS

It will be recalled from Chapter IV that teachers rank second only to parents in the frequency of being named as the most important influence on respondents' educational plans. In this chapter we will examine some other data about how relations between the adolescent and his teacher, including the communication that flows from teacher to student, operate to affect the educational plans of young persons.

The rationale for expecting teachers to be influential is very straight-forward. The institutionalized focus of the educational process in American society is, of course, the school; and, equally apparent, the teacher is the most visible and omnipresent representative of this educational establishment. Perhaps decisions taken by government, community, or school administrators have a more basic influence on goals and functioning of the educational system than do teachers; but these elements in the system are invisible and unknown to the student, whereas teachers are the daily embodiment of it. The child's affect, negative or positive, toward the educational process focuses on teachers as its representatives. If he does not like his teachers, he will be less likely to enjoy his school -- to do well in it, to wish to continue in it. But if he experiences positive affective links between himself and his teachers -- or, more generally, if he perceives that teachers are "linked in" to other elements in his total set of significant others, such that parents like teachers and teachers like parents, friends like teachers and teachers like friends, etc. -- then we should expect a spin-off or spill-over effect that infuses the total educational system with "virtue" and leads the adolescent to wish to continue in it. Pleasant and motivation-producing relations with the teacher should be particularly crucial for the child who lacks other sources of guidance and motivation. And for any student, poor teachers can reduce interest in education and motivation for continuance, in the absence of strong influences outside the school from parents, peers, and community.

We have not measured all aspects of this "place of the teacher in the high school student's world," but we do have information on three matters that are worth exploring. These are (1) the extent that respondents like their teachers, (2) the perceived attitudes of teachers towards respondents' friends, and (3) the degree to which respondents have received encouragement from teachers with regard to planning for college. "Influence of teacher" has a number of dimensions, but one prerequisite for most effective influence should be a relationship in which the adolescent can say that he likes the teacher. He may, of course, like a teacher who gives him little of educational value or dislike one from whom he learns much. But, in general, we expect that this single item concerning liking of teachers will index the degree of influence teachers are likely to exert on the respondent. The liking or not liking of a teacher is, of course, affected by more than the single relationship with the teacher -- it reflects, in some way, the entire reaction of the student to the school and the educational process, and is consequently not independent of the variables we are trying to explain.

The last variable, degree of encouragement, is measured only for those who expressed some possibility that they might go to college, but with all three we should be able to determine how much, if at all, one's educational plans for the future are associated with features of the relationship between a student and his teachers.

Our first concern is with the effects of the student's attitude towards his teachers, and his relations with them, on his educational plans. Do those who like their teachers, and get along with them -- a single question was phrased in these terms: "In general do you like your teachers and get along with them?" -- formulate a high level of educational expectations more frequently than those who express some limitations along these lines? The simple answer: indeed they do; without exception across all race-sex groups, dropout tendency increases and college-planning tendency decreases with impairment of the student's relationship with his teachers (Table VI-1). We note that most students report cordial relations with their teachers; two-thirds of the white females and of the Negroes in either sex state that they get along "very well," while among white males, almost 50 percent give this answer and another 39.3 percent say that they get along "fairly well" with teachers. We also note, as many times before, that the independent variable -- in this case, "relations with teachers" -- seems to have a stronger effect on educational plans among whites than among Negroes.

In general, for all groups the greatest differences occur between those who answer "Not well at all" compared to others. Although this category is very small numerically (being less than two percent of all respondents) it is very significant in terms of the extremes of school planning. A two-way causal relationship leads to the conclusion that students who reject the system and plan to drop out do not get along with teachers; but also, if the teachers can maintain effective relationships with even the less-motivated youngsters, chances of their completion of high school, at least, are vastly improved. Educational theory contains elaborate explanations of such processes, and it is hoped that this finding will be a useful corroboration.

Even ignoring this extreme category, though, we note, illustratively, that whereas 30 percent of the white females who do not get along well with teachers contemplate dropping out, only ten percent seriously entertain such thoughts among those whose relations with teachers are good; and the corresponding percentages for college planning are 18 and 41. Similar contrasts can be noted for the other race-sex groups, as well. The approximately ten percent of respondents who report relatively poor relations with teachers ("not well at all" or "not as well as I might") consistently have the lowest of educational expectations, and these expectations are consistently at their highest level among those who get along "very well" with their teachers.

From the marginal frequencies of Tables VI-2, 3, and 4, we can see the relationship between "getting along with teacher" and ability, commitment, and grades. Consistent with our previous comments, this relationship is strongest for academic commitment. The association between teacher-liking and school grades is somewhat less, but still strong, while scholastic ability shows only slight differences, in general, by level of liking the teacher. These results can be interpreted so as to give a hearty commendation to the efforts of teachers in one respect. The less able students do tend to like the teachers a little less, but these are also the students receiving lower grades and having lower commitment to school;

taking this into account, it appears as though teachers are able to act toward students at all ability levels in such a way as to produce very similar reactions. If they strongly favored the more able students, our results would certainly have been different.

When we introduce these "talent" controls (scholastic ability, academic commitment, and school grades), there is often a reduction in the effects of relations with teachers on educational planning (Tables VI-2, 3, and 4) but in general, we still find teachers making some contribution to the level of plans, even when the controls are applied. It is difficult to find a pattern in the exceptions, but we shall point out the most noteworthy of them:

(1) Negro males with medium and high SAL are least likely to have college plans if they answered "fairly well" in describing their relations with teachers. In fact, in the medium SAL category, the college planning rate of those with poor teacher relations slightly exceeds that of respondents having the best reported relations with teachers. Thus, among Negro males, it seems that teachers tend to add little, if anything, to the development of college plans for those with relatively good ability. This does not appear for the other race-sex groups.

(2) Also among Negro males, those with low academic commitment tend to be least likely to have college goals if they get along "very well" with their teachers. If their commitment to school is low at present, good relations with teachers may be no incentive at all for many students; instead, it may

be considered a reward for low commitment.[1] While this appears strongest for Negro males, in all groups, when commitment is low, the effect of relations with teachers on college plans (but not on dropout inclinations) is substantially reduced from that found in Table VI-1.

(3) Among white males, those with medium and high commitment or high grades show even further reduction from the overall association between educational plans and relations with teachers. In these cases, both dropout potential and college planning seem virtually independent of the quality of relations with teachers. If a white boy is doing relatively well in school, or wants to do well, it doesn't seem to matter whether he feels close to his teachers or not, even though it is true for white males, as for the other groups, that close relations with teachers tend to accompany high student interest and performance. The white male is simply more likely than those in the other subgroups to be uninfluenced in his plans by the affect he feels for his teachers; other motivations seem more important.

Despite these exceptions, the general finding is still that relations with teachers displays some association with students' future school plans, regardless of the student's "talent" level. In addition, the patterns of association are usually fairly similar to those occurring when no controls are used (Table VI-1). This means that racial differences in the level of plans persist to be the same degree as they did in the original table, although there does appear to be somewhat greater convergence [illegible] the races in the likelihood of dropout plans for those with relatively poor "talent."

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[1] Of course, since we are relying on the student's report here, we should not ignore the possibility that an answer of "good relations with teachers" for those with low academic commitment may often be a defensive one, designed to absolve the student from blame for his low commitment.

We now turn more briefly to the other two questions with which we hope to shed some light on the importance of teachers in the development of educational plans. We shall not use the "talent" controls in discussing these measures, since they promise to add little to what we have already observed.

We look next at whether the respondent's perception of his friends' standing with teachers bears a relation to his own educational plans. There are at least two reasons to expect that responses to the question, "How much do you think most teachers like the group of friends you go with?" should help predict the respondent's plans for his education. The first is that, since teachers are probably more disposed to give approval to those students whose response to the school system is positive, answers to this question are expected to tell us something about the respondent's friends; that is, friends who are liked by teachers are probably the kind of students who would encourage the student to continue his studies. More importantly, and our second reason, persons who perceive that teachers approve and accept their friends are more likely to have a positive set toward the educational process; if one's friends are thought to be rejected or disapproved by teachers, then one's own attitudes towards teachers and school are more likely to be negative.

Table VI-5 gives the basic relationship we find between educational plans and teachers' evaluation of the respondent's friends. It is apparent from inspection of this table that those who perceive that teachers like their friends "very much" are less likely to think about dropping out and more likely to plan college than are those who feel that teachers respond only "fairly well" to their friends. These, in turn, have higher educational plans than those toward whose friends teachers are seen as having either neutral or negative evaluations. As in so many prior instances, we note a stronger effect among whites than among Negroes, but the relation is distinct in all race-sex groups; and for both the college-bound and the dropout-prone, there is no reversal. The data reflect very clearly the existence of academic "in" and "out" groups, with the former characterized by strong desire to finish high school and (especially for white students) to go on to college, approval by teachers, and association with friends who are similar in orientation. The reverse is true for the "out" group syndrome.

There is a noteworthy sex difference, but only a small race difference, in the distributinn of respondents on this measure of compatibility between teachers and friends. Nearly half of the girls, but only 36.2 percent of the Negro boys and 28.3 percent of the white boys say their teachers like their friends "very much." On the other hand, around ten percent of the girls, but between 15 and 20 percent of the boys, report their teachers are either neutral or opposed to their friends. Thus, the association between good teacher-friends relations and high educational plans tends to benefit the girls somewhat more than the boys, since the former are somewhat more likely to have teachers' approval for their friends. This may simply reflect a cultural norm which says that the social life of girls is to be more oriented around the school or it may reflect the greater discipline problems female teachers have with boys. But it may still be worth considering whether such a norm may thereby leave some boys alienated from the entire educational process.

The last fact that we ascertained about teachers concerned the extent to which they had given encouragement to the college aspirations of our respondents. "Have any of your teachers ever told you personally that you ought to go to college if you possibly can?" was asked only of those who said there was some chance that they would go to college. But we can still look at this portion of our sample to see whether teacher encouragement for college is related to the degree of certainty that respondents have about both high school graduation and college-going.

Table VI-6 shows that while the students who answered the question definitely have higher expectations than those who did not, these expectations tend also to rise with increases in the number of teachers who have given encouragement about college. However, having just one teacher give such encouragement does not seem to be enough. In general, the level of plans of those with one teacher's support are no higher, on the average, than for those who have heard no encouragement from their teachers. Only when "several" -- or, even better, "many" -- teachers are viewed as recognizing a student's college potential does this potential tend to get translated more frequently into a determination on the part of the student to finish high school and to go on to college. Apparently a single teacher's support may only sharpen the feeling of many students that most teachers do not feel this way. The result for some: even a diminution of the intention to attain high levels of education.

Summary

Our data reveal a marked degree of association between the educational plans of students and the nature of their relationship with teachers. Plans tend to be toward higher goals when students feel closer to their teachers, have received encouragement about college from several of them, and perceive that their friends are approved of by them. Undoubtedly many teachers tend to favor those students who do well in school and who have expressed plans for continuing their education past high school. Still, Tables VI-2, 3, and 4 indicate that a positive relationship with teachers can make a difference in plans, even when scholastic ability, interest, and performance are accounted for. We should also be reminded that Chapter IV revealed that those who consider teachers as the "most important influence" on their plans for the future tend to have relatively high educational goals. Thus, we conclude that while many students develop their plans mainly from other influences, teachers may well be crucial reinforcers of the plans of a significant number of youngsters, and possibly depressants of plans for others.

We shall next try to contrast the extent of this teacher influence, as measured in this chapter, with the influence of other youth on our respondents. In the following two chapters, we shall explore the extent to which siblings and friends have anything to do with the kinds of educational plans our respondents develop.

Table VI-1

Educational Plans and Relations with Teachers, by Race and Sex

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Relations with Teachers	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Get along "very well"	2766	18.8	23.5	3586	13.4	22.4	1296	12.6	49.3	1760	9.8	40.6
Get along "fairly well"	1046	28.6	19.4	1093	24.0	17.6	1036	19.0	40.2	741	19.9	28.6
Get along "not as well as I might"	413	32.1	17.0	514	29.2	12.4	266	29.0	33.8	125	30.4	18.4
Get along "not well at all"	71	53.5	4.2	57	43.9	3.6	52	65.4	17.3	11	72.7	9.1

Table VI-2

Relations with Teachers and Educational Plans, Controlling for Scholastic Ability Level

Relations with Teachers	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Get along "very well"	274	26.3	10.9	277	14.8	17.7	233	10.3	36.1	358	19.6	11.2	355	10.7	18.0	293	6.8	36.9
Get along "fairly well"	82	42.7	8.5	100	31.0	12.0	119	16.8	25.2	97	34.0	11.3	124	21.0	14.5	102	16.7	28.4
Don't get along too well	51	52.9	3.9	56	41.1	17.9	30	26.7	30.0	84	34.5	4.8	57	26.3	0.0	47	14.9	25.5
	White Males									White Females								
Get along "very well"	277	22.7	31.4	284	12.3	49.3	301	3.3	76.4	400	13.8	21.8	398	10.6	37.9	392	4.6	67.1
Get along "fairly well"	245	29.0	19.2	229	17.9	42.4	225	6.2	61.8	190	22.1	10.5	175	20.0	29.1	149	7.4	56.4
Don't get along too well	71	42.3	15.5	79	31.6	26.6	56	17.9	58.9	38	31.6	10.5	26	34.6	15.4	22	18.2	40.9

Table VI-3

Relations with Teachers and Educational Plans, Controlling for Academic Commitment

Relations with Teachers	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment			Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7
Get along "very well"	276	45.7	8.0	1201	18.2	21.6	1226	12.0	29.4	148	42.6	8.8	1282	18.0	19.4	2109	8.1	25.5
Get along "fairly well"	216	49.5	11.6	601	26.1	20.0	213	13.1	27.2	154	45.5	8.4	561	25.8	15.9	356	11.5	24.4
Don't get along too well	144	56.3	10.4	224	29.9	15.6	98	28.6	23.5	108	61.1	5.6	279	27.6	9.0	176	15.9	19.9
	White Males									White Females								
Get along "very well"	293	24.6	25.3	692	10.7	50.7	300	5.0	69.7	202	28.2	22.3	830	9.5	34.3	718	4.5	52.6
Get along "fairly well"	449	31.6	23.4	503	9.9	51.1	77	3.9	68.8	204	41.7	12.3	434	12.9	31.8	103	6.8	46.6
Don't get along too well	196	49.0	17.9	113	13.3	51.3	9	(0.0)	(66.7)	54	44.4	13.0	61	32.8	14.8	20	10.0	35.0

Table VI-4

Relations with Teachers and Educational Plans, Controlling for Grades in School

Relations with Teachers	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades			Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
Get along "very well"	364	33.8	9.6	1419	18.1	21.4	788	9.0	35.9	297	22.2	9.8	1505	14.9	17.9	1586	8.6	30.4
Get along "fairly well"	192	41.7	8.3	585	27.0	19.7	217	19.8	30.4	123	42.3	4.1	584	22.8	16.1	317	16.4	28.7
Don't get along too well	109	52.3	5.5	240	32.9	15.0	104	27.9	28.8	61	39.3	3.3	307	30.6	8.8	167	24.6	19.8
	White Males									White Females								
Get along "very well"	213	26.8	23.0	563	13.9	41.6	499	4.4	70.5	146	29.5	11.0	676	13.0	26.5	912	3.8	56.7
Get along "fairly well"	232	36.2	21.1	518	16.0	36.7	269	8.6	65.8	94	35.1	3.2	369	23.3	18.4	271	9.6	52.0
Don't get along too well	95	56.8	9.5	155	31.0	32.3	58	5.2	67.2	34	47.1	0.0	69	37.7	15.9	31	9.7	41.9

Table VI-5

Educational Plans and Teachers' Attitudes About Respondents' Friends,

by Race and Sex

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Teachers' Attitude About Respondent's Friends	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Like them very much	1196	14.4	27.0	2336	11.3	25.9	700	7.0	62.7	1204	7.4	49.1
Like them fairly well	1598	19.9	22.6	1978	18.6	17.7	1262	18.1	43.0	1106	16.8	27.4
Neutral	339	30.4	18.6	274	25.1	14.3	400	24.6	25.3	233	25.8	16.4
Don't like them	188	41.5	12.2	157	40.8	12.1	80	55.0	11.2	21	61.9	14.2

Table VI-6

Educational Plans and Teachers' Encouragement about College by Race and Sex

Number of Teachers Giving Encouragement*	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
None	968	27.3	18.8	1268	19.1	18.6	718	15.7	48.7	740	9.6	46.1
One	461	22.1	20.4	603	16.3	18.2	203	12.8	43.3	246	6.9	42.7
Several	1066	19.7	28.8	1260	14.7	24.3	651	8.6	60.6	524	6.9	53.1
Many	954	14.6	33.9	1294	11.8	30.3	437	4.3	70.4	336	3.9	66.3
Not ascertained	859	33.7	2.5	846	29.1	2.8	644	40.2	2.1	791	28.8	0.5

* This question was to be answered only by those perceiving some chance that they would go to college. The "not ascertained" group is, therefore, made up mainly of these students and is included in this table to provide the reader with a base line for comparison.

CHAPTER VII

THE INFLUENCE OF SIBLINGS

In this chapter, we focus on a single piece of information about respondents' siblings. While not mentioned nearly so often as parents as the most important source of influence on future planning (see Table IV-1), siblings are just behind teachers as the type of person mentioned third most frequently as influential. It has also been noted that where siblings are seen as the most important influence, respondents tend to have relatively high expectations about the level of education they will attain.

On these grounds alone, it would seem that the educational experience of brothers and sisters ought to be looked at for their relationship with the plans of our respondents. Not only may these experiences be the chief influence on respondents' planning, but even where parents are cited as most important, older siblings may act to reinforce or to moderate the effects of parents. If brothers and sisters have already done as parental factors would normally lead the respondent to do, he would seem most likely to do the same. On the other hand, if siblings have broken out of the usual pattern associated with children having their particular kind of parents, then the student in our sample would tend to be less influenced by parental factors. In any case, we would predict that those students whose brothers and/or sisters have gone the farthest in school would be most likely to expect to go to college; those with siblings who are dropouts would have the highest probability of being classified as potential dropouts themselves; and those whose siblings are either all younger or are still in high school would be intermediate on educational expectations. These are the predictions that we shall be testing in this chapter.

Before going on to a presentation of findings, however, there is a distinction that we should like to point out between the parental influence factors that we discussed in Chapter V and the variable we are dealing with here concerning siblings. Essentially, we have had to rely on fairly subjective kinds of reports by respondents about their parents. Such indices of the quality of family life as degree of parental happiness, parent-child interaction characteristics, and parental encouragement about school are all obtained via the perceptions of the respondent; in most cases, there are no absolute standards by which the student can base his answers. We have had to assume that the terms (e.g., "happy" vs. "unhappy;" "bawl me out" vs. "talk to me;" "reasonable" vs. "unreasonable;" etc.) mean approximately the same thing to all respondents. From that standpoint, we have been able to draw certain conclusions about the quality of family life most conducive to varying levels of educational plans. But we cannot deny that there is room for honest differences in interpretation in many of the questions about parents. We are left with some suspicion that at least part of those relationships we have found between parent variables and respondent's plans is due to a general euphoric or optimistic outlook or lack of it in the respondent, rather than to anything about the parents directly.

Not so with our main measure of sibling influence. This is a concrete question, one that is not susceptible to a variety of interpretations. We ask how many brothers and sisters, if any, have dropped out of school, are still in high school, have graduated from high school, and have gone to college.[1] The answers are straightforward and factual. We can have a high degree of confidence that we are measuring what we think we are measuring. This certainly adds to the confidence we can, in turn, have in the conclusions we present from our data.

The first thing to note are some important though modest racial differences in the exposure that our respondents have had to siblings with college or dropout experience. About 38 percent of all the Negro students who can be classified report at least one of their siblings had dropped out before high school graduation. Only 21.8 percent of the whites have dropout siblings (Table VII-1). Overall, there is about the same percentage in each race with siblings who have gone to college -- 23.8 percent for Negroes and 22.0 percent for whites.[2] (Whites have a slight advantage in the percentage who have had college-going siblings and none who have dropped out -- 17.8 to 14.6 percent.)

We can take a slightly different approach to display the racial difference in sibling education more sharply, if we focus just on those who have siblings who have served as significant referents in education matters. This includes those who have had siblings either drop out or graduate from high school and excludes all only children and respondents whose brothers and sisters are all still in primary or secondary school. (Such exclusion cuts deeper into the white sample than into the Negro sample, since a larger proportion of the former are either oldest or only children.)

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[1] For the sake of simplification of questions, sex of siblings was not distinguished. We do not wish to contend, however, that this is irrelevant to our study. It is just that we felt that this is a variable that will not radically alter the overall effect of siblings (regardless of sex) on respondent's educational plans.

[2] Actually, it is quite possible that a larger proportion of Negroes than whites may have interpreted the question about college attendance of siblings so broadly as to consider beauty colleges, secretarial schools, and other non-academic post-high-school training as "college." If so, the lack of racial difference here might be spurious. In later questions about the respondents' own intentions, the meaning of the term "college" was made more explicit. But impressions from the pretest-questionnaire-editing period do indicate some greater tendency for Negroes to be freer in their use of the term when there are no guiding instructions.

Of the group that we are now looking at, Negroes show a higher percentage with siblings who have dropped out, while whites have a higher percentage with college-going siblings. Falling into the category with sibling dropouts are 58.3 percent of the Negroes with significant referents among siblings; 43.0 percent of the whites are similarly situated. On the other hand, about the same percentage of whites (43.4) have had siblings go to college, while just 36.6 percent of the Negroes have been exposed to such sibling experience. Since a larger proportion of Negroes have had both siblings who have dropped out and have gone to college, the racial difference in exposure to what might be considered a "pure" college pattern among siblings is even more striking -- 35.1 percent of the whites and 22.4 percent of the Negroes.

To the degree that the example of brothers and sisters would serve as an influence to teen-agers, it would seem, then, that Negro children are at somewhat of a disadvantage to start with. A larger proportion of them are learning from their siblings attitudes conducive to dropping out of school, and, if anything, fewer are being shown firsthand the process of entering and attending college. Aside from this direct kind of influence, siblings come from similar backgrounds, which predispose our subjects in a similar manner, providing a dual and condition-perpetuating type of influence.

We shall now proceed to examine just how important this sibling educational experience is in predicting the plans of our respondents. For the following analysis, we shall classify sibling's education as having negative reference value if he dropped out of school, or positive reference value if he graduated from high school. Positive referents will be subdivided into two groups -- those who went to college and those who did not. This allows us to group respondents into six mutually exclusive categories: Type One -- no sibling referents (includes only children and those whose siblings have neither dropped out nor finished high school); Type Two -- only negative referents (at least one has dropped out and none has graduated from high school); Type Three -- mixed referents, but no college (at least one has dropped out and at least one has graduated, but none went to college); Type Four -- mixed referents, some college (at least one dropped out and one went to college); Type Five -- only positive referents, but no college (none dropped out and at least one graduated, but none went to college); and Type Six -- only positive referents, some college (none dropped out and at least one sibling went to college.)

When we relate siblings' education to respondent's own educational plans, some very interesting patterns emerge (Table VII-2). First, the amount of variation in respondents' dropout potential associated with differences in sibling education type is quite a bit smaller than the variation in college planning. Respondents with extreme types of sibling educational experience are much more different in their likelihood of college attendance than in their likelihood of dropping out of high school.

For example, a comparison of the range of percentages found within each race-sex category in Table VII-2 reveals just a 15.9 point spread in the "potential dropout" column for Negro males, as opposed to a range of 27.3 points in the percentage of college planners. For Negro females, the percentage-point ranges are 17.8 and 29.9, respectively. For whites the ranges are generally higher, but, again, they are greatest when we are dealing with the percentage having definite college plans. Among white males, the differences between extreme sibling education types are 25.4 percentage points in dropout likelihood and 54.4 points in percentage with college plans; among white females, the corresponding percentage-point spreads are 24.0 and 49.8.

Because of the apparently greater effect of siblings' education on college plans -- as opposed to its effect on dropout potential -- we shall in the following analysis focus more attention on the differences in intentions to go to college as they are related to differences in the educational experience of siblings.

Respondents in only two of the six sibling education types display very striking racial differences in their level of educational plans. In the other four types, the overall racial contrast found in the sample is either sharply reduced or completely wiped out. Whites and Negroes tend to be appreciably different in their planning only if they fall into Types One or Six on siblings' education. These are the respondents who have either no sibling referents or who have only positive referents, with some having gone to college.

Type Six respondents (positive, some college) are most likely in both races to have high educational plans. But the likelihood is much greater among whites. Almost 40 percent of the Negroes but around 60 percent of the whites (65.9 percent of the males and 58.7 percent of the females) have strong college intentions. The percentage in this group who are classed as potential dropouts is 17.0 for Negro boys, 9.2 for Negro girls, 9.5 for white boys, and 6.5 for white girls. In all four cases, these are the lowest percentages among the various sibling education types. Thus, we find that the example of siblings who have gone to college, untarnished by any exposure to dropout siblings, is most conducive to high educational goals or expectations. But the positive effect on a student's plans is greater for whites than for Negroes.

We also find whites at an advantage in level of educational plans, when we turn to those in Type One -- with no sibling referents. Having neither dropouts nor high school graduates among siblings is associated with college planning about twice as often for white respondents as for Negroes. The difference is 49.8 to 24.4 percent among males and 42.9 to 23.6 percent among females. While the potential dropout percentage does not vary sharply between the races, the overall picture here does indicate that whites are a lot better off than Negroes when they do not have any brothers or sisters setting educational examples for them. This would apparently corroborate the earlier finding that being an oldest or only child (conditions heavily represented in the group of Type One respondents) is much more advantageous for white children than for Negro children, at least insofar as its possible influence on educational planning. We shall explore later whether this is due to racial differences in the family situatinn of only and oldest children -- perhaps family intactness (both parents present or not) is the explanatory variable here.

All other sibling education types have much lower percentages of white students planning college than the two types (Six and One) that we have discussed so far. Moreover, there is little to distinguish the races in the level of respondents' plans found within each sibling education type. As has been noted several times before, the conditions related to low levels of educational planning seem to affect the two races similarly, whereas those factors that tend to elevate students' plans have a differential effect, substantially more positive for whites than for Negroes.

Except among white males, the highest percentage planning college found in the remaining sibling education types is in Type Four -- the group with both college-going and dropout siblings. In all race-sex categories, just about one-quarter of these respondents are intent on going to college. This constitutes about a 20 point drop from the percentage of college planners found among whites with no sibling referents. But it is just about the same percentage as appeared for Negroes in Type One. Moreover, the percentage of college planners in Type Four is less than half of what it is in Type Six (only positive referents, some college) for whites -- a drop of 38 points for males and 33 points for females. In comparison, Negroes in Type Four have about two-thirds as great a likelihood as those in Type Six of having college intentions. One way of interpreting this result is to say that Type Four Negroes -- those with both dropout and college-going siblings -- are relatively better off than others of their race, as compared to Type Four whites. Having dropout siblings to counteract the example of college-going siblings seems to have more of a depressant effect on college plans of whites than of Negroes. Perhaps this is because the situation is more unusual and possibly more traumatic for whites. But, of course, we should keep in mind that the absolute effect is the same for both races in terms of the percentage of Type Four respondents who plan to go to college.

There is also not much difference between the races in the percentage of Type Four respondents classified as potential dropouts, although, as is generally the case, the percentage is lower for girls than for boys. Just over 20 percent of the males in this group are not certain about finishing high school. Among girls, 15.8 percent of the Negroes and just 9.6 percent of the whites are listed as possible dropouts. For the girls much more than for the boys, the tendency is to expect to follow the collegiate example when respondents are confronted with both college and dropout sibling examples.

An interesting comparison can be made between Type Four and Type Five respondents. The former have had sibling examples pulling them toward both extremes on the continuum of educational achievement -- college and dropping out. The experience of Type Five students is in many ways just the opposite. They have had no negative examples with regard to dropping out. All of their referent siblings have finished high school. But they have also had no positive examples with regard to college attendance. None of the siblings who have graduated from high school has gone to college. We might expect this to lead to greater incidence of medium educational expectations among Type Five respondents -- a smaller proportion in both the college planning and potential dropout categories.

But such is not generally the case. It is true that the percentage planning to go to college is markedly less for Negroes in Type

Five than it is for those in Type Four. The drop is from 24.1 to 14.2 percent for males and from 26.5 to 13.3 percent for females. But the percentage who are possible dropouts is remarkably the same for the two sibling education types -- about 21 percent for males and 15 percent for females. And among whites, Type Five boys are slightly higher than those of Type Four in percentage with college plans (28.5 to 27.4), and the Type Five girls are more likely to be classed as possible dropouts than their Type Four counterparts (15.5 to 9.6 percent).[3]

We should note that within Type Five, there is virtually no racial difference in the percentage of potential dropouts -- around 20 percent of the males and 15 percent of the females. But there is some racial difference in college planning, especially males. Strong college intentions are found in 28.5 percent of the Type Five white males. This is about double the percentage for Negro males. At the same time, 18.0 percent of the white girls and 13.3 percent of the Negro girls in Type Five have fairly definite college plans.

Looking at Type Five respondents another way, we find that while the percentage differences are not especially large, more whites are planning college than are thinking seriously about dropping out, with the reverse being true for Negroes. But the overall conclusion must be that this group of students, all of whose referent siblings are high school graduates and no more, stands intermediate (along with Type Four respondents) in both their dropout and college-planning likelihoods. The only noteworthy qualification to this statement would be to point out that the Negro college-planning rate seems somewhat more depressed than that of white students in Type Five -- the former group is a bit closer to the minimum percentage found in college intentions among the six siblings education types. Evidently, lack of exposure to referent siblings who can provide a college example has a more deterrant effect on the college planning of Negroes than of whites. There seem to be more chances for whites to have other positive experiences that can compensate for poor sibling influence.

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[3] Apparently, having college-going siblings to balance off the effect of dropout siblings results in about the same likelihood of being a potential dropout as does having all referent siblings graduate from high school but not go to college. In fact, among white girls, the former situation (Type Four) seems an even better guarantee than the latter (Type Five) against the possibility of dropping. The percentage difference is not great, but only white girls seem particularly disuaded from contemplating dropping out when they have seen both dropout and college-going examples among their siblings.

Having generally the lowest level of educational expectations among our respondents are those in Types Two and Three. These are the students who have had some siblings drop out and have either had none graduate from high school (Type Two) or some graduate but none go to college (Type Three). Since neither type has had any exposure to college-going siblings, we might expect them to be similar in their percentage with strong college intentions. But we might also expect Type Two students to have the higher rate of potential dropouts, since they have not had their exposure to dropouts balanced by experience with high school graduates among their brothers and sisters.

Actually, there is little to choose betwen the two types in either their likelihood of not finishing high school or their likelihood of expecting to go to college. Except for white males, there is less than a one point difference in any race-sex group between the two types in percentage who are planning college. About nine percent of the white females in these two groups expect to go to college; closer to ten percent of the Negro females have strong college plans; and about 11 percent of the Negro males are similarly classified. White males show a slight divergence between the sibling education types -- 18.9 percent in Type Two have fairly definite college plans, as opposed to just 11.5 percent of those in Type Three. If anything, the expectation would have been in the opposite direction, with Type Three respondents (having some compensation for dropout examples among their siblings) being more likely to be planning to go to college. Certainly, though, the size of the difference is small enough that we can reasonably attribute it to sampling variation. But we can conclude, in general, that having some siblings drop out and none go to college is a particularly detrimental condition with regard to a student's own plans for college. The percentage of college planners found in Types Two and Three is markedly less than that found in any other sibling education type (with the exception that Type Five Negroes are not very much higher in their percentage with plans to go to college).

At the same time, the likelihood of being a potential dropout is highest in the two sibling education types under discussion -- Two and Three. Between 25 and 35 percent of all respondents in these two classifications show an inclination toward dropping out. Negro students have a slight tendency, as predicted earlier, to be more dropout prone if in Type Two than if in Type Three. Of those with only dropout referents (Type Two), 32.9 percent of the Negro males and 27.0 percent of the females are potential dropouts themselves. On the other hand, Negro respondents who have both dropout and high school graduate siblings (but none to college) -- those in Type Three -- show just under 25 percent who might drop out. Whites in Types Two and Three are less differentiated in their likelihood of being potential dropouts. The percentages who might leave school before graduation are 34.9 for Type Three males and 33.3 for those in Type Two; for white females, the corresponding percentages are 28.7 and 30.5.

What we seem to have found here is a repeat of an earlier finding that Negroes fare relatively better when their siblings' education has mixed reference value. The reader will recall that the percentage of Negroes planning college in Type Four (with both college-going and dropout siblings) was higher than the percentage in Type Five (all positive referents, no college) and fairly close to the percentage in Type Six (all positive referents, some college). But for whites, Type Four respondents were little or no better off than those in Type Five in their likelihood of college planning, and they had a much lower likelihood than that of Type Six students. Now we find the mixed referent group, Type Three, more differentiated from Type Two respondents (all negative referents) in potential dropout percentage for Negroes, especially males. Again, the exposure to conflicting sibling education examples seems more likely to produce a positive result for Negroes than for whites, at least relative to other students of the same race.

Recapitulation

A summary of results in Table VII-2, then, would point to the generally strong association between educational experience of siblings and educational plans of respondents. Students whose brothers and sisters have followed the path of high achievement, as indexed in college attendance, are more likely themselves to expect to attain a high level of education. Overall, about one-third of the Negroes with college-educated siblings (Types Four and Six) and over 50 percent of the whites expect to go to college. This compares with a much lower percentage of college-planners among those with sibling referents none of whom have gone to college -- 12.1, 10.8, 20.7, and 12.4 percent for Negro boys and girls and white boys and girls, respectively.

At the other extreme, those with siblings who have dropped out (Types Two, Three, and Four) are themselves more likely to entertain the possibility of dropping out before graduation. Of those who have had some siblings drop out, 26.8 percent of the Negro males and 23.2 percent of the Negro females are in the potential dropout category in our study. The percentages are even slightly higher for whites -- 31.8 for males and 26.1 for females. In contrast, those with referent siblings none of whom have dropped out count 18.9 percent of the Negro males and just 12.1 percent of the Negro females as potential dropouts, along with 13.4 percent of the white males and 10.0 percent of the white females.

Having no sibling referents (i.e., either no brothers or sisters or all still in school below the college level) is associated with a racial difference in expected level of educational attainment. The likelihood of a high expected educational attainment level is relatively greater for whites than for Negroes in this situation -- even in comparison with others of the same race. For both races, these Type One respondents are intermediate in their percentage with college plans and with dropout potentialities. But the percentages tend to be much closer among whites than among Negroes to those found for students with college-educated siblings.

On the other hand, among students with mixed (as opposed to no) sibling referents, Negroes tend to rank slightly higher than whites -- relative to others in their own race -- on educational plans. We speculated earlier that occurrence of a dropout in a white family, since it is more unusual than in the Negro population, may be more traumatic and more indicative of a declining level of aspiration in the family, even if some children have succeeded to high school graduation and beyond. The family with a dropout is perhaps stigmatized as low in educational status more often and more irrevocably in the white subculture and is not aided much by compensating instances of higher educational achievement. This may be reflected, then, in the aspiration and expectation levels of younger children in the family who may feel doomed to the low status heralded by the earlier dropout. With Negroes, the higher achiever among siblings may stand out more as the unusual one, showing "the way" to his younger brother or sister.

It would also be instructive to know the birth order and sex of siblings who make up this mixed referent pattern. We might expect that the sibling whose influence would be greatest on a student would be the one who is closest in age and of the same sex. If this particular sibling was more likely to be a dropout in white families and a high school graduate or a possible college-goer in Negro families in Types Three and Four, this would be a further possible explanation for the tendency toward racial difference being discussed here. We must repeat, however, that in absolute terms, there is very little racial difference in the level of educational plans for those having mixed sibling referents. What we have tried to speculate about is why a Negro in this situation is likely to rank higher among peers of his own race in his level of plans than is a white in the same situation.

The only sizable racial differences, in an absolute sense, in the percentage having various educational intentions appear among Type One and Type Six respondents -- the first having no sibling referents, the second having only positive sibling referents, including some college-goers. These are the two kinds of respondents whose likelihood of planning college is by far the highest among all groups for whites. In other words, the sibling educational experience (or lack of it) that they are exposed to seems most conducive to high expectations among whites. Such experience cannot exactly be considered detrimental for Negroes either, since those in Type Six have the highest level of educational plans within the race, and Type One Negroes rank fairly high, too, on their percentage having high expectations. But the percentage planning college is generally about 20 points higher for whites in these two sibling education categories. In addition, the percentage of potential dropouts, while relatively low in these categories for both races, is even lower for whites, especially males, although the racial difference is not nearly so great as in the case of college plans.

Aside from students in these two sibling education types, Negroes are about as likely as whites to be classified as high or low on educational plans. For the other types of respondents, the average level of expected attainment is generally lower and the distribution among expected attainment levels is about the same in both races. Thus, we see that the greater incidence of, and greater positive effect of, the most favorable sibling conditions (i.e., referents either non-existent or all positive with some having gone to college) among whites may be a major explainer of the overall racial differences that we have found in educational plans. For those respondents who are in unfavorable circumstances, the chances of having high educational plans are at about the same low level in both races. But given a more favorable sibling situation, whites are much more likely to be elevated in the amount of education they expect to get. To repeat, sibling performance must be considered in terms of potential influence and also as an indicator of conditions held in common with the subject.

This is, then, another instance in which we have found it possible to identify conditions that are associated with equally low probabilities of high educational plans in both races. But at the same time, the opposite conditions turn out to be more favorable to the plans of whites than to those of Negroes. There seems to be a residue of factors disadvantageous to Negroes that is likely to appear even when they encounter some conditions generally favorable to the development of high educational plans for white students.

The Introduction of Controls

Before closing this chapter, we shall now take another brief look at how the control variables of "academic talent" operate, this time in conjunction with siblings' education.[4] With six classes in the independent variable and three classes within each of the three control variables

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[4] In Chapter XI, we shall work with other controls, examining particularly the interaction of structural and reference-person influences on educational planning.

(not to mention the ubiquitous controls of race and sex), we shall restrict ourselves to an overview of the effects of these control variables.

The key finding in Tables VII-3, 4, and 5 is that siblings' education continues to relate to respondents' plans in pretty much the same way, even after controls of scholastic ability (SAL), academic commitment (AC), and grades are introduced. The basic pattern, with or without controls, consists of the following prominent features:

1) Respondents in sibling education Types II and III (with some dropouts and no college-goers among siblings) tend most often to be low in the amount of education they expect to receive;
2) Type VI students (some college-goers and no dropouts among siblings) usually have the highest level of educational plans; and
3) Those in Type I (with no siblings who are referents in educational matters) also usually have relatively high expectation levels, at least as seen in college plans among whites.

That the controls do not drastically alter this overall pattern does not mean that they have no modifying effect, however. Perhaps the most common modification is a weakening of the utility of siblings' education for predicting dropout potential under certain control conditions. Siblings' education had seemed less useful in predicting dropout potential, as opposed to college planning, in the first place. And now the combination of small numbers plus the genuine effects of controls often makes for a further reduction in the differentiation among the six sibling education types in their likelihood of possibly not finishing high school.

Still, we find that in 33 of 36 control categories in the four race-sex groups, Type II respondents rank either first or second in percentage with high dropout potential. The same is true in 30 of 36 cases involving Type III students. All of the exceptions in the latter case appear with Negro males, where ability, interest, and performance measures seem to account for most of the tendency (rather weak among Negro males to begin with) of Type III students to have high dropout potential. For those in Type VI, however, only 24 of 36 comparisons show this group following expectations by having the lowest percentage of possible early school leavers. Here, most (8 of 12) of the exceptions occur when SAL is the control, especially where respondents have at least medium ability. This indicates a tendency for high scholastic ability not to be a reinforcer of high educational expectations, if siblings have already gone to college. Apparently, those with good ability are already unlikely to be dropout candidates. And, except where sibling referents present a decidedly pro-dropout example to detract from high expectations (as in Types II and III), what siblings have done is relatively unimportant in the plans of high SAL students.

The above is true with regard to the likelihood of dropping out. But the unadulterated college example of siblings (as found in Type VI students) is still associated with the greatest likelihood of having college plans, even when controls are applied. In only two of 36 cases do Type VI students rank below the top in their percentage with college plans, and both times they are a close second. Also, Type II students (with all dropout referents) are consistently at the bottom on likelihood of planning college -- there are just three minor exceptions. Those in Type III are somewhat less likely to remain last or next to last on percentage with college plans, once controls are introduced. Here we find eight exceptions out of 36, but none is very serious -- in no control category do Type III respondents have an espcially high percentage with serious college intentions. Finally, Type I whites are, in all control categories, second only to those in Type VI in their likelihood of being a college planner.

The overall impression, then, is that siblings' education, regardless of whether it represents influence or taps common sources of influence, continues to be a useful predictor of students' own educational plans, even when controls of ability, interest, and performance in school are introduced. But there is more consistent differentiation of sibling education types with regard to extent of college planning than with regard to dropout potential.

It remains for us to spell out the combinations of conditions being discussed here that are most and least associated with high levels of educational aspirations.[5] In all race-sex groups, the most likely to plan college is the student who is in Type VI and who has high SAL, high AC, or high grades. For example, among Type VI respondents high on SAL, 45.3 percent of the Negro males and 51.6 percent of the Negro females plan to go to college after high school graduation.

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[5] We shall limit our view here to percentage with college plans as our measure of the dependent variable, since dropout potential is less reliably predicted.

This compares with 81.5 percent and 76.9 percent for white males and females, respectively. The percentages are quite similar when we look at the Type VI groups high on AC or grades.

Thus, adding in these controls does nothing to close the racial gap in likelihood to plan college among those under the most favorable conditions. But adding high ability to favorable sibling example does maximize this likelihood within each race-sex group. The racial difference in college planning rate is also found among Type VI respondents with low or medium rankings on the control variables. As without controls, the difference remains least or least consistent in Types II, III, and IV.

Looking for those who are least likely to plan college, we find Negro males are this way if they are in Type III with low SAL or low grades or in Type II with low AC. In these cases, between just two and six percent have strong college intentions. Type V respondents low on the various controls also have this small a percentage who firmly expect to go to college.

For Negro girls, the rate of college planning is at bottom for both low and medium SAL respondents in Types II and III. These types also have relatively low college planning likelihood when they are low on AC or grades. But Type V respondents, if they are low on AC or grades, have an even smaller percentage who expect to go to college. The same tends to hold true for white girls, as well.

What this appears to mean is that Negro boys and girls of both races who are low on ability, interest, or grades and who have only non-college sibling referents are highly unlikely to be planning on going to college themselves -- regardless of whether their siblings had dropped out or had gotten through high school before stopping their formal education. If a student has low ability or has not done well in school, the presence of only non-college referents is enough to eliminate practically all chances of that student planning for college. But at higher ability, interest, and performance levels, the student's college planning chances are raised just so long as there are no dropouts among siblings (or at least no dropouts without the compensation of a college-going sibling -- Type IV). Apparently high school completion without going on to college by all referent siblings (as in Type V) is enough to elevate the sights of some students as long as they have the ability and interest needed for college. Such students probably see education as something one gets as much of as possible, and they think of themselves as different from their brothers and sisters who are thought to have been lacking in ability or interest.

All of this is well and good, except that among white boys, those with sibling education Type V are never as low as those in Types II and III in their percentages planning college. To have had dropouts without collegians among one's siblings (Types II and III) is definitely the least conducive to having college plans for white boys, regardless of SAL, AC, or grades level. And Type V respondents are generally no worse off in college planning likelihood than are those in Type IV (with both college-going and dropout siblings).

Thus, we would be best off if we made the most of our finding that Type VI students -- those with siblings who went to college and with none who dropped out -- are most likely to be planning to go to college themselves, and that this likelihood is generally enhanced if the student has better than average ability or has shown strong commitments to education. We know that other conditions are less conducive to high educational expectations, and we have attempted to cite other interesting associations between particular types of sibling educational experiences and respondents' own educational plans. For example, white high schoolers are more likely to have college plans if they have no brothers and sisters or no brothers and sisters who are beyond high school age (Type I). It is worst, generally, to have had siblings who have dropped out, especially if there are no other siblings who have gone to college. Also particularly bad for the college plans of girls of both races and of Negro boys is the combination of low ability, interest, or performance with the situation of having all referent siblings graduate from high school and not go to college.

The above summary completes our discussion of siblings' education in this section of the report. We have certainly found that it is a valuable predictor of students' educational plans. We have also found that it has predictive power even when scholastic ability, academic commitment, and school grades are held constant. Later, we shall want to see how much of an independent contribution this variable makes to predicting, and possibly causing, educational plans when other variables, particularly those relating to parents, are in operation. But next we must turn to the relationship of plans to variations in another kind of referent: the student's friends and other peers.

Table VII-1

Educational Record of Siblings by Race

Siblings' Education	Negroes			Whites		
	N	Percentage of Total	Percentage of Those with Sibling Referents	N	Percentage of Total	Percentage of Those with Sibling Referents
At least one has dropped out	3663	37.9	58.3	1197	21.8	43.0
None to college	2772	28.7	44.1	965	17.6	34.7
At least one to college	891	9.2	14.2	232	4.2	8.3
At least one has graduated from high school; none dropped out or went to college	1211	12.5	19.3	609	11.1	21.9
At least one to college	2302	23.8	36.6	1208	22.0	43.4
At least one dropout	891	9.2	14.2	232	4.2	8.3
None dropped out	1411	14.6	22.4	976	17.8	35.1
Sibling non-referents	3384	35.0	-	2699	49.3	-
Total	9669 (6285)	100.0	100.0	5481 (2782)	100.0	100.0

Table VII-2

Educational Plans and Education of Sibling Referents, by Race and Sex

	Scores on Educational Plans Index											
Sibling Referent Type	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Type One - no sibling referents	1460	22.0	24.4	1739	14.3	23.6	1273	14.1	49.8	1283	10.3	42.9
Type Two - at least one dropped out, no positive referents	505	32.9	10.9	790	27.0	10.3	228	33.3	18.9	259	30.5	8.9
Type Three - at least one dropped out, one graduated, none to college	551	24.9	11.3	742	24.0	9.4	209	34.9	11.5	223	28.7	9.4
Type Four - at least one dropped out and one went to college	369	21.4	24.1	476	15.8	26.5	117	22.2	27.4	104	9.6	26.0
Type Five - none dropped out, at least one graduated, none to college	534	21.2	14.2	600	15.3	13.3	298	19.8	28.5	278	15.5	18.0
Type Six - none dropped out, at least one to college	657	17.0	38.2	673	9.2	39.3	484	9.5	65.9	441	6.5	58.7

Table VII-3

Educational Plans and Education of Sibling Referents, Controlling for Scholastic Ability Level

Sibling Referent Type	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
Type I	155	38.1	14.8	157	21.7	15.3	161	11.2	37.9	174	20.7	12.1	186	10.8	17.7	192	9.4	40.6
II	48	22.9	6.3	54	29.6	7.4	28	17.9	14.3	94	37.2	3.2	83	21.7	3.6	43	20.9	16.3
III	68	32.4	1.5	52	30.8	11.5	31	6.5	25.8	76	30.3	6.6	66	28.8	3.0	53	11.3	17.0
IV	24	37.5	8.3	42	21.4	19.0	26	15.4	23.1	38	18.4	10.5	36	11.1	33.3	28	3.6	42.9
V	52	34.6	3.8	65	12.3	12.3	61	14.8	19.7	82	17.1	11.0	72	12.5	6.9	54	3.7	14.8
VI	38	23.7	13.2	50	16.0	40.0	64	18.8	45.3	47	17.0	21.3	65	10.8	33.8	64	7.8	51.6
	White Males									White Females								
Type I	244	24.6	30.7	310	14.2	46.5	345	5.5	72.2	298	11.7	22.8	300	11.3	37.0	319	3.8	68.7
II	65	40.0	12.3	58	31.0	27.6	26	15.4	26.9	81	37.0	3.7	55	36.4	5.5	34	8.8	23.5
III	65	36.9	3.1	38	42.1	10.5	12	25.0	16.7	69	31.9	8.7	38	31.6	7.9	24	16.7	25.0
IV	36	25.0	16.7	24	25.0	33.3	21	0.0	47.6	20	10.0	15.0	26	3.8	30.8	18	5.6	55.6
V	78	24.4	19.2	57	17.5	36.8	35	11.4	51.4	75	17.3	6.7	59	16.9	28.8	42	9.5	40.5
VI	89	23.6	40.4	95	6.3	62.1	135	2.2	81.5	72	6.9	29.2	107	6.5	54.2	121	5.8	76.9

Table VII-4

Educational Plans and Education of Sibling Referents,

Controlling for Academic Commitment

Sibling Referent Type	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment			Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
Type I	212	49.1	13.7	683	20.6	23.4	539	12.4	30.2	121	47.1	9.9	689	18.0	19.4	906	7.0	28.9
II	88	53.4	4.5	241	34.9	10.8	164	17.1	15.2	77	63.6	2.6	330	32.4	7.9	370	13.8	14.1
III	83	49.4	6.0	261	21.8	11.1	193	15.5	14.5	61	55.7	3.3	325	27.4	7.1	341	14.1	13.2
IV	49	40.8	8.2	201	21.9	23.9	113	11.5	31.9	33	39.4	15.2	194	20.6	23.7	245	8.6	30.2
V	83	51.8	4.8	255	16.9	9.0	186	11.8	25.8	53	43.4	1.9	235	17.0	11.9	300	8.3	16.3
VI	76	38.2	21.1	298	15.8	37.2	277	11.2	44.8	44	34.1	20.5	259	12.4	37.8	367	4.1	42.5
	White Males									White Females								
Type I	411	28.0	28.7	631	9.0	55.3	224	3.1	73.7	182	30.2	23.1	633	9.2	37.4	461	3.7	58.1
II	108	44.4	10.2	99	24.2	28.3	18	11.1	22.2	69	55.1	5.8	138	23.9	5.8	52	15.4	21.2
III	75	65.3	5.3	96	21.9	9.4	23	13.0	47.8	56	55.4	1.8	122	23.8	12.3	45	8.9	11.1
IV	49	42.9	18.4	56	7.1	37.5	10	0.0	10.0	29	27.6	10.3	48	2.1	27.1	26	3.8	38.5
V	135	33.3	14.8	137	8.0	38.7	25	12.0	44.0	53	35.8	7.5	150	12.0	15.3	74	8.1	29.7
VI	133	18.8	39.1	265	6.8	72.5	82	2.4	89.0	64	20.3	34.4	211	5.7	60.7	164	2.4	65.2

Table VII-5

Educational Plans and Education of Sibling Referents Controlling for Grades in School

	Negro Males									Negro Females								
Sibling Referent Type	Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades			Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
Type I	195	40.0	11.3	755	22.4	21.9	421	11.2	36.8	151	26.5	6.6	756	16.0	18.4	738	8.7	33.7
II	99	46.5	9.1	276	29.3	11.2	87	19.5	16.1	97	38.1	5.2	400	24.5	9.3	236	19.9	16.1
III	102	42.2	2.0	303	21.5	12.2	105	13.3	18.1	75	38.7	4.0	359	24.5	6.1	261	17.6	16.1
IV	59	32.2	10.2	197	18.8	25.4	90	16.7	32.2	40	30.0	17.5	226	18.1	23.0	183	6.6	33.9
V	97	38.1	4.1	267	19.1	12.7	138	10.9	26.1	55	20.0	3.6	281	18.1	10.3	227	10.1	20.7
VI	75	21.3	14.7	337	17.5	37.1	213	10.8	51.6	38	15.8	15.8	272	9.9	36.8	341	7.0	44.9
	White Males									White Females								
Type I	215	34.0	23.3	598	13.9	43.1	443	4.1	73.1	117	25.6	7.7	499	14.8	27.3	652	3.7	61.8
II	69	49.3	14.5	113	27.4	15.9	38	18.4	36.8	38	50.0	0.0	136	36.0	5.1	80	11.3	20.0
III	71	49.3	7.0	87	32.2	6.9	45	15.6	26.7	38	47.4	55.3	119	28.6	9.2	59	15.3	13.6
IV	31	38.7	12.9	53	18.9	26.4	30	10.0	43.3	12	(16.7)	(0.0)	46	13.0	17.4	44	4.5	43.2
V	74	27.0	17.6	158	19.0	25.3	63	11.1	50.8	38	42.1	2.6	128	12.5	10.9	108	10.2	32.4
VI	76	26.3	32.9	206	10.2	62.1	197	2.0	84.3	27	22.2	22.2	160	9.4	45.6	252	3.2	71.4

CHAPTER VIII

PEER INFLUENCES

In the present study, we find that when forced to make a choice among various possible influences on their educational plans, students name friends as "most important" quite infrequently. When the choice is among several possible referents (e.g., parents, siblings, teachers, other relatives, other adults, and friends), Negroes select friends less than four percent of the time, and just over six percent of the whites name friends. In a question comparing the relative influence of just friends and parents, the latter come off as more important for 80 percent or more of those responding, with fewer than ten percent in any race-sex group reporting that they rely more on friends.

We are about to examine the relationship between assorted peer factors and the educational plans of respondents. If we find relationships, we must be cautious about making causal inferences. For the lack of popularity of friends as "most influential" may indicate that characteristics of friends and friendship patterns are less a determinant of a student's plans and more an effect of these plans or of a cause that is common to both.

Yet, the literature contains much argument and some evidence that adolescents are guided in large measure by the standards and behavior of their peers. It is entirely possible that much of this influence is unrecognized by those involved, especially when it is not consciously or deliberately applied, but stems impersonally from pervasive elements of the youth or clique subculture. Moreover, the influence may be important even if not primary -- as a supporter or modifier of other influences on plans.

Therefore, while we may have trouble isolating cause from effect here, we can usefully identify the features of peers and peer relations that are likely to be associated with high and low educational expectations. The purpose of prediction can at least be served. And it is also quite likely that we can use these findings to obtain insights into the chain of causation.

There are two kinds of information that we have concerning peers. Each will be a focus for one section of this chapter. First, there are scholastically relevant characteristics of friends: Do they try hard in school? Do they get good grades? Have any of them dropped out or gone to college? What are their future educational plans? From these questions, we can find to what degree a student's own academic behavior and plans are congruent with those of his friends.

Second, we have indices of the status of respondents and of their friends among peers in general. We shall ask whether those who (feel that they) rank high among their peers are any different from those of lower rank in their educational plans. This is interesting in its own right -- to know whether students who have high expectations (or low) feel a part of, or estranged from, their schoolmates; in other words, whether the peer system in school supports high or low aspirations, and how students are sorted according to this system. And this will help set the stage for later analysis where schools will be classified according to the degree that their students give high status to those with strong academic goals.

Characteristics of Friends

The overall view of our data about the kinds of friends that respondents have strongly supports common-sense expectations and results of other studies. We find that students planning to go to college are most likely to be found among those whose friends work fairly hard and get good grades in school, have not dropped out, and are either in or are planning to go to college themselves. On the other hand, potential dropouts are most concentrated among those whose friends get below average grades, try no more than "a little" in school, are not likely to be in or be planning on college, and are likely to have either dropped out already or to be expected to do this in the future.

In all four race-sex groups, students whose friends tend to have below average grades are more likely to be classified as potential dropouts than they are to be listed as college planners (Table VIII-1). For example, among Negro males whose friends are reported to be below average in grades, 31.6 percent seem uncertain about graduating from high school, while only 13.5 percent have strong college intentions. Similarly, Negro girls with friends below average in grades show 27.6 percent as potential dropouts and 10.3 percent planning college. The figures for whites are 32.3 and 21.3 percent for males and 33.6 and 16.3 percent for females. There is little racial difference here -- whites seem to have only slightly larger percentages in both the potential dropout and the college-planning categories.

The picture is very different for those whose friends have average or above average grades. Here the likelihood of being a college planner is greater in all race-sex groups than the likelihood of being a potential dropout. And a striking racial difference emerges, particularly in the percentage of college planners among those with above average grades -- 30.4 and 28.7 percent for Negro boys and girls, respectively, as compared to 61.9 and 53.1 percent for white boys and girls.[1] This repeats the pattern we have found frequently: the greater racial disparity in percentage having college plans in the respondent categories where these plans are most common. Apparently, there is too much "static" -- other interfering factors in the typical environment -- for positive conditions to have a favorable outcome in educational plans as often for Negroes as for whites. At the same time, the opposite conditions are associated with an equally low level of educational plans in both races. Note also that whites are more likely to report that their friends have good grades -- only 16.1 percent of white males and 11.1 percent of white females say friends have below average grades, as compared to about one-quarter of the Negroes of either sex.

When the measure is of reported effort of friends in school, the relationship to respondents' plans is similar (Table VIII-2) to what was found above. The less effort respondents credit their friends with, the less likely the respondents are to be planning on going to college and the more likely they are to be inclined to drop out. This strong relationship is found for both races and both sexes, but with variations in college planning rates especially large for white students. It is also true that white males, compared with Negroes, consistently show an appreciably larger percentage with college plans and a smaller percentage of potential dropouts -- at all levels of reported friends' school effort. In fact, white males whose friends are rated lowest in effort have almost as high a percentage planning college as do Negro males whose friends try "quite a bit" or "very hard." But generally, respondents in these two categories indicating greatest effort by friends ("try quite a bit" and "try very hard") have by far the highest average level of educational plans. Incidentally, there is usually little difference between these two categories in percentages of potential dropouts and college planners. Not surprisingly, students did not recognize the semantic distinction intended by the researchers.

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[1] Actually, the difference also shows up fairly strongly among males whose friends' grades are about average.

Future educational plans of friends, as reported by respondents, tend also to be related to respondents' own plans in the way one would expect (Table VIII-3). Similarly, to the extent that students have friends who have already left high school (through graduation or dropping out), it is also true that the current educational fate of friends tends to mirror students' future plans (Table VIII-4).

Among those where dropping out is the predominant expectation for friends, fewer than ten percent have strong college intentions. In fact, none of the 101 white females in this category was classified as a college-planner. On the other hand, potential dropouts account for over half of the whites and over 40 percent of the Negroes whose friends rank lowest in level of educational plans. If anything, then, the whites whose friendship groups consist mainly of low aspirers (or planners) are even less likely than Negroes in the same situation to have high or even moderately high ambitions or expectations about their own future education. The friendship groups of non-education-oriented whites appear to be more homogeneous than those of Negroes -- admitting even fewer who may be expecting to exceed the group norm in educational attainment. But while this is true, it is also true that a larger proportion of all Negro students report having friends with low educational expectations. The percentages for Negroes are just about double those for whites -- 12.5 and 7.7 percent for Negro boys and girls, respectively, as compared with 6.4 and 3.7 percent for white boys and girls. Thus, while it may be slightly more likely for Negroes to have relatively high educational plans when their friends have low expectations, a greater proportion of Negroes experience the negative condition of having friends with low expectations.

Adding to this is the recurring pattern of much higher expectations among whites, as compared to Negroes, when both are members of generally college-oriented friendship groups. First of all, a higher percentage of white students fit this description -- 27.5 percent of the boys and 32.5 percent of the girls, as compared with 19.4 and 25.1 percent of the Negro boys and girls, respectively. And among whites with most friends expected to go to college, over 70 percent are college planners, themselves, as opposed to less than 40 percent of the Negroes having the most ambitious type of friends. The likelihood of being a potential dropout is also reduced more among whites whose friends are generally college planners -- just 4.4 percent of the males and 4.2 percent of the females. This is lower than the percentages for Negroes -- 10.0 for boys and 7.9 for girls.

The picture is somewhat less striking, but similar, when we look at what friends have already attained educationally. Here we have a measure comparable to the educational experience of siblings -- a good predictor of respondents' educational plans in Chapter VII. As in the previous case, respondents are classified according to whether their referents present a positive, negative, neutral, or mixed example with regard to educational experience. In the measure being used here, the "positive" group consists of those with some close friends who graduated from high school and none who have dropped out. The opposite applies for the "negative" group -- some dropouts and no graduates among close friends. The "neutral" label pertains to two respondent categories: those with all close friends still in high school (or below) and those few who report having no close friends (less than two percent of all students reporting). "Mixed" educational experience of friends refers to the case where some friends have graduated and some have dropped out of school before high school graduation.

The mixed example of friends turns out to be associated more closely with low expectations of respondents than was the case with mixed sibling educational experience. In general, students having both dropout and graduated close friends are nearly the same in average level of educational plans as those whose referent friends are primarily dropouts. Those in peer groups with more purely negative educational orientations have a slightly greater likelihood than those in the mixed groups of being potential dropouts (except among white girls), but there is virtually no difference between respondents in these two categories in their likelihood of planning to go to college.

In all race-sex categories, potential dropouts comprise about 30 percent of those respondents with friends who have dropped out and with none who have graduated. About 20 percent of the white males with this type of friends have relatively strong college intentions, while the percentage is below 15 for white girls and for Negroes. Among those with a mixed group of close friends, about 30 percent of the white females, again, are classified as potential dropouts. But the figure is reduced to the low and middle 20's for the other race-sex groupings. At the same time, serious college planning still occurs less than 15 percent of the time among girls of either race and just 17.0 and 22.2 percent of the time among Negro and white boys, respectively. In all race-sex groups, then, respondents who have some dropout friends -- regardless of whether or not they also have some friends who graduated -- are somewhat more likely to be potential dropouts than they are to be college planners.

In contrast, with an appreciably larger percentage of college planners than potential dropouts, are those respondents whose friends are either all still in high school (or below) or have graduated. Of those whose friends are all still in school, between 17.8 (Negro males) and 10.2 percent (white females) are classified as possible dropouts. When there are some positive and no negative referents among close friends (i.e., persons who have already graduated), the range in percentage of possible dropouts is from just 13.4 to 8.2.

At the same time, the proportion having serious college intentions is higher, especially for whites, when there are no negative referents among friends. Twenty-six percent of the Negro males and 21.7 percent of the Negro females whose friends are still in school have serious plans to go to college. This is also the case for almost 30 percent of the Negro students who count some high school graduates among their close friends, and have no dropout friends. Among whites, if their close friends are either still in school or have graduated, about 53 percent of the males and about 42.5 percent of the females expect to go to college right after high school graduation. We are not looking here at whether friends have gone on to college or not -- just at whether or not they graduated from high school. But even this is associated with a markedly higher educational expectation level in our respondents than is found for those whose close friends include some dropouts.

Status Among Peers

We next turn to a view of the status of respondents among their peers to see whether this is related to educational plans. We will be using three measures of status in this section: (1) how the respondent rates within his special group of friends, (2) how he rates with his schoolmates in general, and (3) how his special group of friends rates with schoolmates in general. In addition, we shall briefly touch on the relationship to educational plans of how well respondents think their teachers and parents like their friends. The overall aim is to see how the various reference systems of respondents fit together in their association with educational planning.

To begin with, we find a moderately increasing likelihood of being a college planner as one's perceived status within one's particular group of close friends increases. (Table VIII-5). This is true in both races, but is more strikingly seen in the case of males. Apparently, girls have more chance to be popular in non-college-oriented activities, such as social clubs and the like.

Serious college planning is found among 32.9 percent of the Negro males and 58.5 percent of the white males who classify themselves as leaders of their friendship groups. In contrast, those with low status among friends (i.e., "not especially popular" or "not really an insider") show only about 14 percent of the Negro males and about a quarter of the white males expecting to attend college. The range among males, then, is about 19 points for Negroes and about 33 points for whites in percentage with college plans, comparing those with high and low status in their friendship groups. Those who claim no special group of friends tend to be somewhat intermediate in college planning, though towards the low end of the continuum -- with 17.5 percent of the Negro males and 36.0 percent of the white males having college plans.

For girls, we find 27.3 percent of the Negro "leaders" and 47.1 percent of the white "leaders" planning to go to college. In comparison, among those with relatively low status among friends, 14.0 percent of the Negroes and 27.4 percent of the whites have college plans. Thus, the range is quite a bit smaller than in the case of the boys -- about 13 percentage points for Negro girls and less than 20 points for white girls (as compared with ranges of about 19 and 36 points for boys). Again, for girls, those without a special group of friends have a slightly greater likelihood of being college planners than do those peripheral to or low in status within a friendship group. But these non-affiliates are considerably less likely than the group leaders to have college plans.

In general, the inverse of the above is true with regard to dropout potential. Intra-group status is negatively related to the likelihood of contemplating early school leaving, and those with "no special group of friends" are intermediate in this likelihood. Here the sex difference is noteworthy only among whites where over 20 percentage points separate high and low status males in their likelihood of being a potential dropout, as compared to a range of just 10 percentage points for white girls.

When we turn to the broader context of popularity among schoolmates in general, the results are similar to those for status within the close friendship group. (Table VIII-6). Those who feel that they are "popular" or "well liked" are most likely to have serious college expectations and least likely to be classified as potential dropouts. Just the reverse is true for the less than 10 percent who report being "not particularly well liked," "unpopular," or unknown to most people; they have relatively high proportions of potential dropouts and low proportions of college planners. Among Negroes, about one-quarter of those who consider themselves "popular" have strong college intentions, and about 15 percent are potential dropouts. This contrasts somewhat with results for those who rate themselves just "average" in popularity; about 20 percent of these students are planning to go to college, and about the same percentage are listed as potential dropouts. The college planning rate drops below 15 percent for the relatively small number who feel unliked and below 10 percent for those few who say they are not well known. At the same time, potential dropouts comprise about one-third of the students in these last two categories.

The picture is even sharper among whites. For those who rate themselves as "popular," over half the males and nearly half the females are classified as college planners, while only about 10 percent show an inclination toward dropping out. The percentage of college planners is reduced about 20 points for those just "average" in popularity--34.9 percent for boys and 26.6 percent for girls--at the same time that dropout potential increases to 22.9 percent and 17.8 percent for the boys and girls, respectively. Even more drastic is the lower level of educational planning for the whites who feel unpopular or unknown. Again, we are dealing with a small number of cases, but it seems quite noteworthy that only 22.9 percent of the unliked white males and just 14.3 percent of those who are unknown have college plans, while 44.6 and 35.7 percent are possible dropouts. For the white girls, college plans are found among only 16.7 percent of those feeling generally unpopular and 7.3 percent of those claiming to be generally unknown; over one-fourth of these types of girls are potential dropouts, however.

Thus, we seem to have demonstrated a fairly strong relationship between within-school status among peers and level of educational plans. The student who is academically oriented in his future plans is likely to feel more popular among his schoolmates. On the other hand, those reflecting alienation from their peers -- or, at least, commanding less respect and popularity -- are also more likely to be alienated from academic goals. Contrary to some commonly expressed fears about public school systems in general, we find an association between high levels of educational planning and popularity within the school, at least when we use the students' estimates of their own popularity. In our sample, within-school status and academic orientation do not seem incompatible.

Further support for this conclusion comes from the relationship between educational plans and respondents' evaluations of the status of their own group of close friends. (Table VIII-7). Strong college intentions are found in more than one-quarter of the Negro students who rate their own group as the "leading" one or "near the top" in school status. This compares with college planning in just over one-fifth of those in "above average" groups, less than one-fifth of those in "about average" groups, and just 14.7 percent of the girls and 8.5 percent of the boys in groups which are ranked as below average in school status.

For the whites, as is usually the case, the range is even greater in college planning percentages of the extreme groups. Among males, 70.7 percent of those who claim to be in the school's leading group are college planners. On the other hand, college intentions are strong among just 25.2 percent of those in below-average status groups and among just 28.6 percent of those in groups of about average status. Almost two-thirds of the white girls in highest status groups are college planners. This percentage drops to just 21.1 and 16.5 for those in groups of about-average or below-average status, respectively.

A glance at percentages of potential dropouts reveals the expected opposite trends for all race-sex groups. In all cases, the likelihood of being a potential dropout is greatest for those whose close friends are below average in status. Among Negroes, those in "leading groups" seem slightly more dropout prone than those whose groups are "near the top" or "above average" in status. But among whites, those in groups at or near the top of the school status hierarchy are definitely lowest in likelihood of being potential dropouts.

All in all, we again find that the status a respondent claims for himself and for his close friends within the school is a good predictor of the respondent's plans for future education. Thus, we see that two aspects of a student's social environment in the school may possibly help determine the level of educational expectations of that student. First, the person whose friends are good students aiming towards high school graduation and college is, himself, more likely to have these same academic goals. And second, the student who feels popular among schoolmates is most likely to be planning a college career, while the student who receives relatively little reward in interaction with peers at school is not as likely to be thinking seriously of college -- instead, the latter kind of student tends to be a fairly strong prospect for the dropout ranks.

In addition, we might briefly mention in this context the apparently favorable effect of parental or teacher approval of friends on respondents' educational plans. We have already examined (in Chapter VI) the relationship between students' plans and perceived teachers' attitudes towards friends. Those with teacher-approved friends are much more likely to be planning on further schooling after high school -- especially among whites. In general, the same condition prevails with regard to parental approval of friends (Table VIII-8). If parents approve of friends "very much" or "for the most part," respondents are considerably more likely to be listed as college planners, as compared to those whose friends are either disapproved of or unknown by parents. Thus, the general conflux of favorable school experiences with peers -- marked by status-rewarding interaction with academically oriented friends approved of by parents and teachers -- seems most conducive to a high level of educational ambition for respondents.

It must be noted that the peer-related variables are not as successful as some previously explored factors in accounting for racial differences even among subgroups of respondents. The goals and expectations of Negroes are generally lower than for whites at any given level of within-school status or degree of parent-teacher approval of friends. There are a few instances where those with friends low in academic orientation have equally low levels of educational plans, regardless of race. But we are on safer ground generally, if we focus on the fact that within each race, a student is most likely to have high educational expectations if his friends are good students interested in continuing their formal education and if the within-school status of him and his friends is relatively high.

In some respects, we have a situation akin to the question of morale among soldiers in battle. Apparently, the most significant factor for motivating soldiers to fight aggressively and effectively is a strong integration into the social system of the fighting unit. In our study, greater adherence to higher goals in education seems to accompany a more solid integration into the school social system, as indicated by having high status among peers, having academically oriented peers, and having friendship with peers who are approved of by such other significant others as parents and friends.

Before leaving this section on the relationships of peer factors to educational plans, we need to look briefly at how much of these relationships remain after our scholastic ability, interest, and performance controls are applied. To stand for all the peer variables that we have examined, we choose two representatives -- friends' future school plans and within-school status of friendship group -- to explore in greater detail at this point. There are two questions to be asked: (1) Do bright and highly motivated students tend to have both high status in the school setting and academically oriented friends? And (2) might such a situation actually account for any relationships found between peer influence and respondents' educational plans?

The answers to these questions are found in Tables VIII-9 - 15. There is definitely a relationship between the peer variables and the respondent's scholastic ability, academic commitment, or grades. The likelihood of having high SAL, AC, or grades improves with increases both in the level of friends' educational expectations and in perceived status of one's friendship group (Table VIII-9). Those whose friends are thought to be college-bound are more frequently high on the "talent" measures. And respondents who belong to prestigeful cliques in the school also tend more often to rank high on SAL, AC, and grades than do those who are in lower status groups.

As for the effect of these relationships between control and independent variables, they do not usually account completely for the observed association of peer factors and respondents' educational plans. Within categories of SAL, commitment, and grades, there generally remain the already noted tendencies for the level of plans to vary directly with both the level of friends' plans and the respondent's clique status. The only real exception to this is the case of Negro females with low SAL; for them, lower clique status is, if anything associated with a likelihood of being a college planner that is low, but slightly increased, over the likelihood for those whose friends have higher status (Table VIII-13). Perhaps, for those with low ability the high status of one's friendship group may have contradictory effects on one's plans for further education. On the one hand, it may tend to raise the horizons of educational possibilities, as it seems to do for our respondents in general. But it may also serve to undermine optimism about future educational plans by pointing up the contrast between one's own low abilities and the higher abilities of one's friends who typically constitute the high status clique. Why the latter effect would seem to predominate only among Negro girls is a question that must be left for later speculation.

Also generally unaffected by the controls is the racial difference in planning, at least under most peer conditions. The exceptions here are a bit more numerous, but they are insufficient to permit any conclusion that peer influences contribute appreciably to an explanation for the racial differences observed in educational planning. As in preceding parts of this report, the races tend to converge under those conditions least associated with high levels of planning. For example, Negroes and whites are roughly similar in their percentages of college planners and potential dropouts for those relatively low on SAL and with friends not expected to attend college (Table VIII-10). The greater the ability level of respondents or the higher the academic goals of friends, the greater the racial disparity in educational plans tends to be -- with the advantage of more ambitious plans going to whites. This is a picture that tends to be repeated when academic commitment or grades is substituted for SAL (Tables VIII-11 and 12). And there are intimations of the same pattern, among females at least, when clique status replaces educational plans of friends as the measure of peer influence (Tables VIII-13, 14, and 15). (Here, we might note, the Negro disadvantage in educational plans disappears for those girls low on AC, or low or medium on grades, with friends whose within-school status is average or below average.)

Summary

We have presented striking evidence that students with high educational expectations tend to have friends who do well in school and who are oriented toward high school graduation and college. Conversely, students with low expectations, either for completion of high school or going on to college, are more likely to have friends who are poor students, dropouts, or planning to drop out. It would be very tenuous to attempt a causal interpretation of such results. For some students, association with friends who have low educational aspirations and interest may bring a type of influence which lowers their own aspirations. For others, low grades and limited plans may predispose them to seek association with others similar to themselves. Most likely is the probability that adolescents with similar values and interests seek the company of each other, and that this association reinforces tendencies that already exist. Our data, as well as that from other studies, demonstrate a definite homogeneity of school friendships in which one axis of the relationship is similar attitudes toward the educational process, regardless of whether this is the main dimension or whether other sets of values, interests, and background bring them together and also tend to limit or encourage them in their educational horizons.

Related to this finding of homogeneous friendship groupings which approach bimodality in educational planning, are our previous findings about family influences and influences of the teacher. Parents, teachers, and high-achieving siblings apparently belong in the constellation of most of the high-aspiring adolescents of our study. In other words, the "dominant" grouping is for ambitious parents, approving teachers, "successful" siblings, and high aspiring friends to mutually approve, influence, and associate with the high aspiring adolescent. Parents, teachers, and students in general approve of his harder-working friends. Consequently, as "ideal type" we get the impression of an "in" group, including for both Negro and white, students who expect to get through high school, show reasonable interest in the process, make fairly decent grades, behave themselves, and associate with other students like themselves. For the white students, this "in" group more often has the additional component of planning to go on to college, whereas this is not as important a component for Negroes.

Possibly the most important conclusion that can be drawn from this rather impressionistic picture is that by the time of high school the student who comes with high expectations and who has been absorbed to a fair degree in the values of the system finds many forces tending to keep him on that path -- parents, teachers, friends, and his own degree of success in the system. However, students who by that time have established other goals and contacts will find it increasingly difficult to change paths -- relationships with friends and teachers will be affected by earlier attitudes and behavior and tend to persist in a cumulative fashion, while established peer associations become increasingly difficult to break and change. In general, these students become less apt to receive positive sources of motivation at the same time that negative sources become stronger. This bleak kind of prognosis is, of course, only a broad generalization, because some adolescents do change their directions during this period of life or later. They may acquire other goals which require a modification of their educational goals and values; relations with parents may change or parental influence finally "take hold"; an interested and perceptive teacher may have a real influence; or friendships may change or become effective -- any of these or many other factors may change their goals. For the majority, however, the kind of pattern we have described appears to be operative and, in most cases, rather definitive.

In the following two chapters, we want to look at some specific attitudinal configurations among respondents that may be useful in predicting and explaining educational plans. We shall discuss, first, occupational aspirations and expectations, and, second, certain value orientations of respondents. We expect to find evidence of the utility of these variables in any general multi-causal model of the development of educational plans.

Table VIII-1

Educational Plans and School Grades of Close Friends, By Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Grades of Friends	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
At least some below average; none above average	924	31.6	13.5	1181	27.6	10.3	403	32.3	21.3	295	33.6	16.3
All average or a balance of those above and below average	1681	19.0	24.4	2379	13.7	22.1	1302	17.5	41.3	1290	14.3	27.8
Most above average or "top students"	886	11.6	30.4	1315	11.0	28.7	797	8.9	61.9	1013	7.1	53.1

Table VIII-2

Educational Plans and Academic Effort of Close Friends, By Race and Sex

	Score on Educational Plans Index											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Friends' School Effort	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7
Don't work at all or don't work "very much"	157	44.5	13.3	109	33.0	9.1	85	30.5	22.3	43	46.5	11.6
Try a little	519	30.9	19.8	384	30.5	17.0	525	26.9	31.5	246	29.3	19.9
Try quite a bit	1822	18.1	24.3	2151	17.4	21.0	1461	14.4	48.8	1409	13.9	33.7
Try very hard	1069	17.4	23.3	2279	12.4	21.9	423	13.2	50.1	908	7.5	45.9

Table VIII-3

Educational Plans of Respondent and His Close Friends, By Race and Sex

Friends' Educational Plans	Score on Educational Plans Index											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Most will drop out or "some will drop out but most will finish"	428	43.4	9.5	369	42.0	5.4	155	51.6	7.7	101	64.3	0.0
Most will finish but will not further schooling	866	30.7	13.4	893	25.4	8.7	544	31.1	16.2	526	27.8	8.8
All will probably finish, some may go to college	1468	14.7	25.1	2362	13.4	21.1	1095	13.3	43.9	1118	9.7	27.6
Most will go to college	670	10.0	40.0	1230	7.9	34.6	696	4.4	76.8	853	4.2	69.1

Table VIII-4

Educational Plans and Current Scholastic Status of Close Friends, By Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Current Scholastic Status of Close Friends	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
No close friends	58	20.7	27.6	88	27.3	19.3	37	13.5	51.3	27	14.8	37.0
Some dropouts, no graduates	303	31.3	13.5	462	27.7	12.8	195	34.9	20.5	217	30.0	11.1
Some dropouts, some graduates	745	23.5	17.0	773	20.8	12.8	397	26.7	22.2	262	30.5	11.1
All still in	1165	17.8	26.4	2051	14.1	21.7	935	13.4	52.7	1319	10.2	42.6
Some graduates, no dropouts	898	13.4	29.9	1217	10.5	28.8	817	10.2	53.4	718	8.2	42.4

Table VIII-5

Educational Plans and Status Within One's Friendship Group, By Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Status Among Friends	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
No special group of friends	648	22.2	17.5	1126	19.7	16.4	197	24.4	36.0	220	15.5	34.1
Not especially popular "or" not really on inside	555	30.5	14.4	664	23.6	14.0	308	30.2	26.0	241	19.9	27.4
Fairly popular, not a leader	1401	19.7	23.5	1870	14.2	22.8	1370	16.6	43.8	1499	14.2	33.6
One of the leaders of the group	794	12.9	32.9	1126	12.5	27.3	604	9.2	58.5	612	9.7	47.1

Table VIII-6

Educational Plans and Status Among School Peers in General, By Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Status Among Peers in General	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Popular or well liked	1866	16.8	26.7	2863	13.2	24.0	1262	10.9	55.3	1475	10.1	44.3
About average	1239	22.7	20.1	1596	18.2	19.0	1105	22.1	34.9	1031	17.8	26.6
Not particularly well liked	153	35.3	14.4	195	29.2	10.3	83	44.6	22.9	42	26.2	16.7
"Very few people know me"	92	35.9	7.6	141	38.3	7.1	28	35.7	14.3	41	29.3	7.3

Table VIII-7

Educational Plans and Status of Friendship Group in School, By Race and Sex

Scores on Educational Plans Index

Status of Friendship Group	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Leading group	293	19.5	30.8	371	15.6	26.7	215	7.9	70.7	229	5.7	65.5
Near the top	777	16.9	31.7	1177	11.9	27.4	680	7.5	58.7	664	7.7	51.5
Above average	839	18.8	22.8	908	14.2	21.4	679	16.0	43.9	571	10.7	36.6
About average	1202	22.3	18.7	1923	17.8	17.7	770	26.6	28.6	991	19.2	21.1
Below average	211	37.9	8.5	340	28.8	14.7	102	37.3	25.5	103	30.1	16.5

Table VIII-8

Educational Plans and Parents' Attitudes About Friends, By Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans

Parents' Attitudes About Friends	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Approve very much	1477	15.9	25.6	2707	12.2	22.4	1015	11.4	54.4	1493	9.0	42.2
Approve for the most part	1282	19.3	25.3	1520	18.1	22.6	1231	18.6	44.4	964	17.9	28.9
Disapprove	315	34.0	16.8	259	28.2	12.0	122	42.6	13.1	54	46.3	18.5
Don't know friends	254	31.1	10.6	274	35.7	11.3	103	30.1	27.2	74	33.8	20.3

Table VIII-9

Relationships Between "Talent" Variables And Both Friends' School Plans and Friends' Status in School

	Percent "High" on Scholastic Ability				Percent "High" on Academic Commitment				Percent "High" on Grades			
Friends' School Plans	Negro Males	Negro Females	White Males	White Females	Negro Males	Negro Females	White Males	White Females	Negro Males	Negro Females	White Males	White Females
Most will drop out or "some will drop out but most will finish	18.8	18.9	18.8	7.1	24.2	41.2	8.5	12.9	21.4	26.4	15.6	16.0
Most will finish but will not have further schooling	25.7	18.7	18.5	17.9	29.5	42.2	6.3	19.3	21.1	30.3	15.0	27.1
All will probably finish, some may go to college	42.6	33.1	34.5	26.1	38.2	50.6	13.9	29.9	30.7	43.3	32.0	44.2
Most will go to college	35.5	37.7	49.3	48.5	51.8	63.9	24.8	45.2	39.2	52.9	50.9	66.1
Friends' Status in School												
Leading group or neartop	39.4	31.7	43.3	43.2	47.0	59.1	22.5	42.2	35.2	51.1	45.4	59.0
Above average	30.8	34.0	33.3	31.4	37.3	52.2	15.0	45.0	27.6	42.2	29.7	49.1
About average	34.4	29.1	25.8	23.2	28.1	47.2	7.4	22.6	25.7	37.9	22.1	35.9
Below average	23.6	22.4	26.5	23.7	35.3	32.2	8.9	19.4	24.2	32.2	20.8	39.6

TABLE VIII-10

Educational Plans of Respondent and His Close Friends, Controlling for Scholastic Ability Level

Friends' Educational Plans	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Most will drop out or "some will drop out but most will finish"	46	54.3	4.3	44	40.9	4.5	22	18.1	18.1	51	50.9	5.8	26	46.1	3.8	18	38.8	5.5
Most will finish but will not further schooling	94	32.9	6.3	122	27.8	8.1	76	18.4	19.7	110	30.0	4.5	125	19.2	4.0	54	14.8	18.5
All will probably finish, some may go to college	94	17.0	14.8	135	12.5	20.7	170	11.1	35.2	224	19.1	11.6	248	11.6	15.7	233	8.5	29.6
Most will go to college	45	20.0	17.7	62	9.6	29.0	59	8.4	52.5	83	12.0	18.0	112	8.0	30.3	118	1.6	56.7

TABLE VIII-10 continued

	White Males									White Females								
Most will drop out or "some will drop out but most will finish"	52	55.7	5.7	30	50.0	10.0	19	36.8	10.5	39	58.9	0.0	26	69.2	0.0	5	(80.0)	(0.0)
Most will finish but will not further schooling	158	36.0	10.1	141	26.2	19.1	68	11.7	36.7	173	26.0	5.2	103	29.1	12.6	60	21.6	25.0
All will probably finish, some may go to college	215	21.3	26.9	254	12.9	43.3	247	6.8	67.2	278	10.0	15.8	268	10.4	23.8	193	3.6	48.7
Most will go to college	106	12.3	55.6	135	4.4	79.2	234	0.8	85.8	125	7.2	46.4	192	4.6	65.6	299	2.6	81.6

TABLE VIII-11

Educational Plans of Respondent and His Close Friends, Controlling for Academic Commitment

Friends' Educational Plans	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment			Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment		
	N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Most will drop out or "some will drop out but most will finish"	110	68.2	3.6	204	38.2	11.3	100	24.0	14.0	52	75.0	0.0	158	41.8	2.5	149	31.5	10.7
Most will finish but will not further schooling	175	48.0	5.7	428	22.9	13.1	252	16.3	19.8	109	55.0	1.8	400	29.0	6.5	372	12.4	12.9
All will probably finish, some may go to college	160	28.1	17.5	737	15.2	24.2	555	9.2	28.8	159	33.3	10.1	995	16.9	19.3	1183	7.7	24.3
Most will go to college	53	32.1	24.5	263	8.7	37.6	339	6.5	45.4	46	37.0	28.3	394	11.9	30.7	778	3.9	37.1

TABLE VIII-11 continued

	White Males									White Females								
Most will drop out or "some will drop out but most will 'finish"	78	61.5	6.4	62	45.2	6.5	13	15.4	23.1	50	76.0	0.0	38	60.5	0.0	13	30.8	0.0
Most will finish but will not further schooling	278	43.5	10.1	226	18.6	21.7	34	11.8	29.4	146	46.6	4.1	277	23.5	8.3	101	11.9	16.8
All will probably finish, some may go to college	378	24.1	26.5	560	8.0	50.4	152	5.3	63.8	175	21.7	16.0	606	8.7	24.6	333	4.8	38.7
Most will go to college	130	11.5	56.9	399	3.5	76.4	174	1.1	87.9	83	19.3	51.8	381	3.1	67.2	383	2.1	74.2

TABLE VIII-12

Educational Plans of Respondent and His Close Friends, Controlling for Grades in School

Friends' Educational Plans	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades			Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	Educ. Plans % 6-7
Most will drop out or "some will drop out but most will finish"	97	62.9	5.2	205	37.6	10.2	82	30.5	15.9	61	54.1	3.3	174	39.7	3.4	98	36.7	11.2
Most will finish but will not further schooling	150	38.7	3.3	491	26.3	13.2	171	15.8	23.4	110	33.6	3.6	471	25.1	7.9	253	19.4	13.4
All will probably finish, some may go to college	188	22.3	10.6	781	15.0	23.4	430	8.8	36.3	200	17.0	8.0	1081	14.9	16.9	980	9.8	28.9
Most will go to college	65	20.0	23.1	322	9.9	36.6	250	5.6	50.4	62	17.7	19.4	492	10.0	29.9	621	4.3	42.0

TABLE VIII-12 continued

	White Males									White Females								
Most will drop out or "some will drop out but most will finish"	59	67.8	3.4	65	46.2	9.2	23	21.7	17.4	33	51.5	0.0	51	80.4	0.0	16	43.8	0.0
Most will finish but will not further schooling	163	42.3	8.0	285	28.1	16.1	79	13.9	35.4	102	39.2	2.9	274	28.8	6.2	140	17.1	18.6
All will probably finish, some may go to college	186	25.3	23.1	549	13.1	38.4	346	6.6	64.7	96	24.0	8.3	521	11.9	19.0	489	4.3	41.1
Most will go to college	86	19.8	46.5	254	3.5	76.0	353	1.4	85.3	37	27.0	21.6	250	5.2	55.6	559	2.1	78.7

TABLE VIII-13

Educational Plans and Status of Friendship Group in School, Controlling for Scholastic Ability Level

	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
Leading group or "near top"	75	30.7	17.3	99	17.2	23.2	113	13.3	40.7	132	23.5	9.8	154	11.7	22.1	133	7.5	47.4
Above average	75	29.3	9.3	89	13.5	15.7	73	11.0	37.0	85	21.2	7.1	88	11.4	13.6	89	4.5	37.1
About average	92	30.4	8.7	139	25.9	12.2	121	10.7	25.6	200	22.0	12.5	216	14.8	11.6	171	11.7	24.6
Below average	28	32.1	3.6	27	33.3	0.0	17	35.3	23.5	38	42.1	10.5	38	28.9	10.5	22	9.1	31.8
	White Males									White Females								
Leading group or "near top"	145	14.5	36.6	184	8.7	58.7	251	0.8	83.3	136	13.2	27.9	190	6.8	53.7	248	2.4	77.8
Above average	146	26.0	26.7	168	7.7	46.4	157	5.7	66.2	143	11.9	20.3	137	11.7	32.8	128	4.7	60.9
About average	203	35.0	17.7	177	25.4	30.0	132	12.9	49.2	291	19.2	13.7	225	19.1	20.4	156	11.5	42.9
Below average	25	40.0	12.0	25	36.0	20.0	18	27.8	50.0	34	38.2	5.9	24	45.8	12.5	18	5.6	55.6

TABLE VIII-14

Educational Plans and Status of Friendship Group in School, Controlling for Academic Commitment

	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment			Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
Leading group or "near top"	124	38.7	21.8	435	15.4	29.9	496	10.1	35.7	69	33.3	15.9	559	19.3	24.0	906	7.5	39.9
Above average	107	45.8	7.5	414	18.4	22.5	310	10.0	29.4	72	44.4	9.7	358	17.3	17.0	469	6.4	26.9
About average	214	43.4	7.0	637	19.8	17.6	332	11.4	29.2	165	48.5	6.1	839	21.2	14.5	897	8.8	22.7
Below average	41	63.4	4.9	91	37.4	12.1	72	20.8	6.9	52	53.8	3.8	139	29.5	13.7	138	18.1	20.3
	White Males									White Females								
Leading group or "near top"	213	19.2	37.1	478	5.0	64.2	201	1.5	80.6	107	16.8	41.1	405	7.2	51.9	377	4.2	62.3
Above average	237	29.5	21.9	337	9.5	52.2	101	5.9	66.3	88	36.4	14.8	278	8.3	33.1	300	1.7	33.7
About average	352	40.1	17.6	353	15.6	36.8	57	10.5	49.1	219	39.7	7.8	544	15.8	20.0	223	7.6	35.9
Below average	46	43.5	15.2	46	37.0	37.0	9	(11.1)	(22.2)	28	64.3	3.6	55	20.0	18.2	20	10.0	30.0

TABLE VIII-15

Educational Plans and Status of Friendship Group in School, Controlling for Grades in School

	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades			Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades		
	N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %		N	Educ. Plans %	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Leading group or "near top"	136	30.1	11.8	520	14.8	30.4	356	9.3	43.3	102	22.5	12.7	620	14.0	20.3	753	8.8	36.6
Above average	109	33.0	7.3	470	18.7	19.9	221	12.7	39.4	75	29.3	2.7	420	14.5	19.3	362	9.1	29.0
About average	196	37.2	9.7	647	23.1	17.3	291	8.6	28.9	184	23.9	8.2	959	20.0	13.6	697	12.3	25.7
Below average	47	46.8	2.1	97	30.9	8.2	46	32.6	17.4	58	39.6	5.2	150	30.7	16.0	99	15.2	22.2

	White Males									White Females								
Leading group or "near top"	114	26.3	32.4	368	7.1	53.5	400	2.0	78.5	47	29.8	19.1	316	10.1	40.5	523	3.2	67.5
Above average	138	30.4	19.6	331	15.1	40.8	198	6.1	67.7	43	34.9	4.6	243	12.8	20.6	276	4.3	56.5
About average	201	40.3	13.9	387	25.6	27.1	167	11.4	52.1	147	32.6	4.8	479	23.8	13.6	350	7.7	39.1
Below average	36	55.5	11.1	44	29.5	20.4	21	19.0	61.9	20	45.0	0.0	41	36.3	17.1	40	15.0	25.0

CHAPTER IX

OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL PLANS

For large numbers of adolescents, educational planning would be expected to go hand in hand with occupational planning. Both represent preparations for adulthood, and both would seem to be products, in large part, of the same processes of childhood socialization. The factors that motivate a child to have high ambitions in one sphere would also cause him to raise his sights in the other sphere as well, and the focus could be on identifying the underlying antecedents of both educational and occupational plans. This is what we have been working on in previous chapters.

But there are two reasons justifying the use of occupational aspirations and expectations as independent variables in the present study. First, they may serve a summary predictive purpose, even if they were to have no actual effect on educational planning. Although we have tried to identify some of the possible determinants of educational plans, we are obviously missing a number of key factors. If, as diagrammatically suggested in Figure 1, these unknown factors affect occupational, as well as educational, plans, then we would expect both planning measures to vary together. While this would not provide a satisfactory explanation for variations in educational plans and aspirations, it could at least serve as a shortcut for prediction to the extent that correlations with unknown factors were similar for educational and occupational plans.

Figure 1

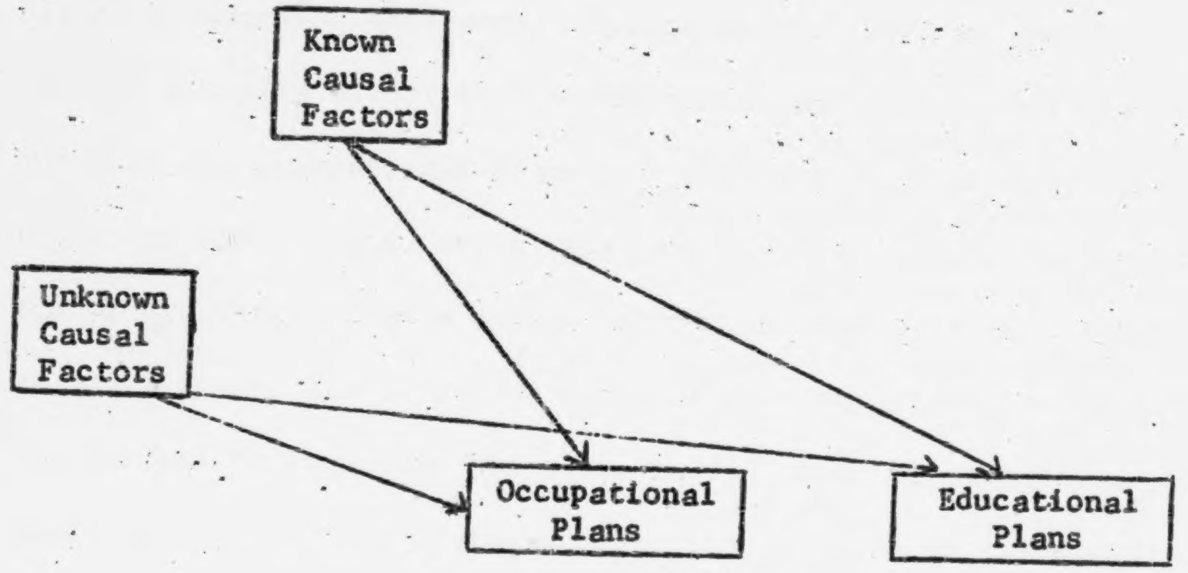
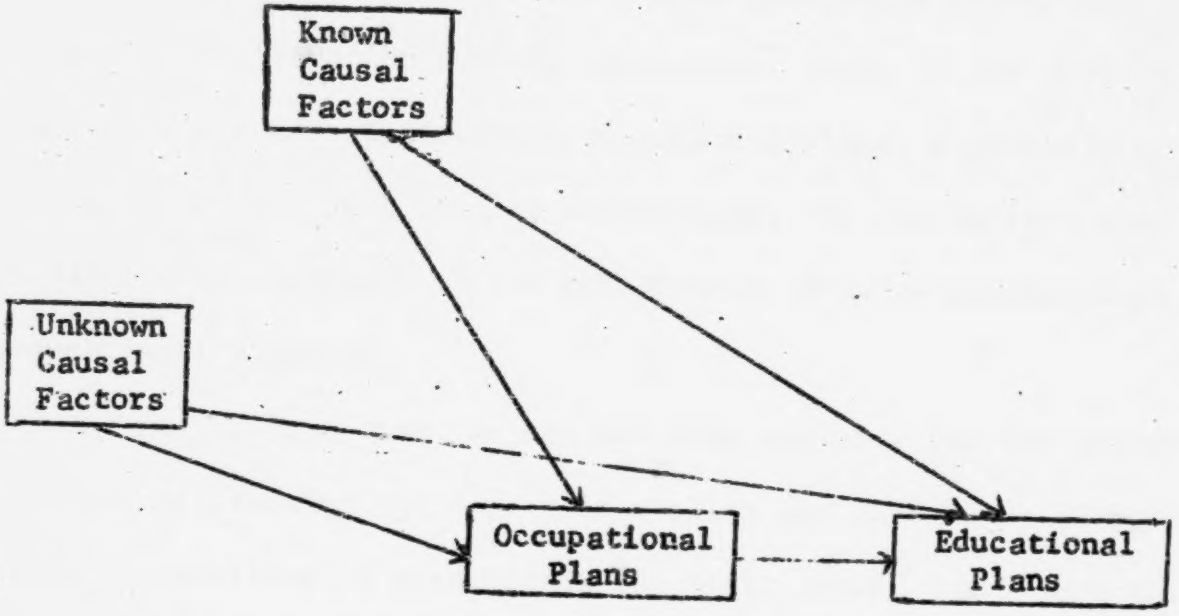

Known Causal Factors
Unknown Causal Factors
Occupational Plans
Educational Plans

Figure 2


Known Causal Factors
Unknown Causal Factors
Occupational Plans
Educational Plans

Beyond this, however, a second reason for studying occupational plans is that they may actually be partial determinants -- not just correlates -- of educational plans. Figure 2, an extension from Figure 1, suggests this more complete model. Here we see that certain factors mutually affect both occupational and educational planning, but that the occupational plans and aspirations of an individual have their own independent, or at least reinforcing, effect on his educational planning. When a person decides to take up a particular career, we would expect him to become aware of the educational requirements of the job and to structure his plans to fit these requirements. In general, those aiming for high-status occupations (such as in the professions, or in business ownership and management) would recognize the necessity of a college education for themselves. On the other hand, persons expecting to hold lower-level blue-collar jobs might well decide that even high school graduation was not necessary. Thus, in the absence of other variables directly influencing educational plans, a person's occupational goals could well be a crucial determinant. We can explore this possibility in our analysis of the relationship between occupational and educational planning.

At the same time, we can use this analysis for the practical purpose of learning the degree of realism and efficiency associated with preparations of respondents for their future jobs. Are the educational plans of students in line with their occupational plans? Or are they generally aiming for jobs for which their education will not prepare them? If the latter is the case -- that is, if some students are hoping and planning for higher level jobs than their intended education will permit -- perhaps all that is needed to raise the level of educational aspirations of such students is to acquaint them with the educational requirements of the various jobs to which they aspire.

Measurement

Given these possible implications of an observed relationship, or non-relationship, between occupational and educational plans, we proceed to our data. Two measures of job goals were used in the survey. First, respondents were classified according to their answers to this open-ended question:

> "What kind of work do you think you would most want to do, if you could get it? (Tell enough about it so we know exactly what you are thinking of.)"

This question ascertained the respondent's "desired job," and answers were classified as follows:[1]

1) Semi-skilled or manual
2) Skilled or skilled service
3) Lower white-collar (clerical and sales)
4) Upper white-collar (professional, entreprenurial, or managerial)
5) Armed forces
6) Glamour (in arts, entertainment, or adventure occupations)
7) Farming
8) Housewife

The same classification is used for students' "expected jobs," which are indexed by a combination of three questions. The respondent is asked whether he thinks he can "get the kind of work you really want to do, when you are ready to earn a living." If a student expresses certainty about getting the job he most desires, his expected job is listed as the same as his desired job. If he is not certain, then the answer to a subsequent question is used as the measure of his expected job. This latter question is "If you do NOT get the kind of work you really want, what do you think you are most likely to end up doing?"

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[1] The detailed coding guide is available from the authors on request.

Distribution of Occupational Goals

Our interest, in this report, is not to make a full-scale investigation of occupational plans and aspirations by themselves;[2] we simply want to see how they relate to educational planning. But there are several points that are worth noting in passing.

First, the students give evidence of having seriously answered the questions on job goals. Over 90 percent of those in each race-sex category say they have "frequently" or "very often" thought about "the kind of work you would like to do when you finish school." It is true that a fairly large minority of respondents are not classifiable with regard to their occupational plans. The proportion ranges from almost thirty percent of the Negro males on "desired job" to about eight percent of the white females, also in response to the question concerning job most desired.

The unclassified category results mainly from the not-so-surprising fact that a fair number of high schoolers have not yet crystallized their job plans. But there is also strong indication that these unclassifiable respondents are disproportionately among the least able and least ambitious students; they tend to have a low level of academic plans and to be relatively low on our measures of scholastic ability and commitment. We might expect, then, that these respondents are, perhaps, most likely to end up in the less desired job categories, notwithstanding their inability or unwillingness to say this themselves. Certainly, we want to keep this in mind while discussing those students who do have a fairly well developed set of occupational expectations and recognize that this type of bias will reduce the size of relationships.

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[2] This may be handled in a later report.

Among this latter group, the classifiable respondents, there seems to be a skewed distribution in favor of high-status occupational goals, as Table IX-1 indicates. This is especially true with regard to desired jobs, but even the distribution of cases in the expected-job responses shows a large shift upward in status goals, as compared to the status of fathers' occupations.[3] Half or more of the classifiable respondents in all race-sex categories would most like to have either a glamour or an upper-white-collar job. And over a third of the students apparently expect to have such jobs. This is not surprising however, once we have noted the unclassified respondents who might reasonably be expected to swell the ranks of those destined for low-status occupations. Thus, we are generally satisfied with the validity of our measures of job aspirations and plans for those who did give usable answers. It is to these students that we shall devote our main attention in the subsequent analysis.

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[3] See Chapter III for data on father's occupation.

We should emphasize that when the requirement of realism is imposed on the aspirations of respondents, there is a definite shift away from high-status jobs -- another argument for the validity of these answers. About three-quarters of the students are not confident about getting the job they want most;[4] these persons, therefore, have their "desired job" responses reclassified for the "expected job" measure. Of course, many of those reclassified end up in the same general category as before -- if their "most likely" job has a status similar to the one they most want.

But semi-skilled, manual, armed forces, farming, and housewife jobs all rise in frequency when we move from desired to expected occupations. Only 14.5 percent of the Negro males make such kinds of work their first choice, while over twice that percentage, 32.8 percent, expect to end up in one of those job categories. For Negro females, the percentage shift is from 7.0 to 30.5; for white males, from 17.1 to 31.8; and for white females, from 3.4 to 26.5. Now, being a housewife or in the armed forces, or even in farming, is not necessarily a sign of low occupational status. What the data may indicate, more than anything, is that these jobs are relatively less desirable and serve as something to fall back to when one must give up his fondest dreams about a future career.

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[4] The percentages are 74.3 for Negro males, 73.9 for Negro females, 78.8 for white males, and 73.4 for white females.

Relationships Between Educational and Occupational Plans

It is also true, though, that these lower-status jobs generally require less education than those in other occupational classifications. Indeed, we find in Tables IX-2 and 3 that the educational planning of students does support this observation.

For example, among occupational goal groups, those desiring or expecting to hold professional, managerial, or entrepreneurial jobs have by far the highest incidence of college planning and the lowest proportion of potential dropouts, regardless of race or sex.[5] At the other end of the scale are those with unskilled or semi-skilled labor aspirations or plans.

In looking first at white boys, we find that over 70 percent of those who have highest-status (e.g., professional, managerial, and entrepreneurial) job aspirations or expectations are planning to go to college right after high school, and only about five percent fall into the potential dropout category. Respondents in even the next job classifications in status order -- glamour and lower white-collar -- show a marked reduction in their general level of educational plans. The percentage point decline in definite college planning is 24 or more, and the proportion of potential dropouts is at least doubled. At the same time, serious plans to go to college are found among just 3.9 percent (2 out of 51) of the white males desiring unskilled or semi-skilled work and among just 18.3 percent (20 out of 109) of those expecting to end up in such jobs. On the other hand, almost half of the white males with these occupational ambitions or expectations are rated high on dropout potential.

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[5] In this discussion, we shall, as usual, generally ignore percentages based on fewer than 25 cases, since these percentages are relatively unstable and can be drastically affected by changes in the classification of just a few cases.

A future career in skilled labor or in the armed forces is also associated with relatively low educational expectations among white males. Just 11.0 percent of those desiring skilled laboring jobs have firm college plans, along with 20.6 percent of the white boys hoping for a military career. The proportion of college planners among those who realistically predict these kinds of work for themselves is also just over one-fifth. At the same time, a high possibility of dropping out exists for over 30 percent of those who want skilled labor or armed forces careers, as well as for about 25 percent of those who expect jobs in these areas. (The percentages are 27.8 for those with armed forces plans and 22.7 for those with skilled labor expectations.)

White boys with farming aspirations or plans tend to be intermediate in their academic planning levels. About a third of them are classified as college planners, while about a quarter of them may be considered as poor risks even to finish high school. This probably reflects the vast range of meaning that farming can represent to a young man -- particularly a white youth -- in the South. For some, it means a scientific operation with good chances for large financial gain, but requiring high skills that are best obtained in college. For others, however, it simply means scraping out a living in the same way one's father has done -- through hard labor with little required in formal education, but also with relatively little reward expected financially.

It is the latter meaning of farming that seems to predominate for Negro males in our sample. As we have seen earlier in looking at father's occupation and at urban-rural background, the experience of Negroes is much more with the unskilled labor and bare subsistence side of farming than with the owning and managing of large and profitable farms. It is, therefore, not surprising that hardly any Negro boys want to be farmers, in the first place, and that the anticipation of an eventual career in farming is associated with low educational expectations. Fewer than one percent of those giving classifiable answers aspire to a farming occupation -- this despite the fact that about 25 percent of the Negro male respondents presently live on farms. And of those who, nonetheless, expect to be farmers, only 12.3 percent have college plans and 30.0 percent are potential dropouts. This is the least educationally ambitious groups of Negro male students in the sample, except for those who gave no usable response to the questions on occupational goals.

Aside from this one discrepancy between white and Negro boys -- on the educational plans of those oriented towards farming -- the groups are quite similar in the relative level of academic expectations for a given category of occupational plans or aspirations.

Thus, we find serious college planning most frequent among Negro males desiring or expecting a professional or high-status white-collar job. Around 50 percent are reasonably certain about going to college. This percentage, while the highest to be found among Negro males, is about 25 points below that of the corresponding group of white males. Being rated a potential dropout is relatively rare among both white and Negro males seeking or expecting these highest-status jobs, but it does occur about twice as often for the Negroes. Slightly over 10 percent of the Negro boys are possible dropouts, even if they say they most want, or really expect, to be either a professional, manager, or business owner.

The percentages of college planners among those aspiring to glamour or lower white-collar careers are just 27.0 and 21.4, respectively, for Negro males. Likewise, about a quarter of those expecting to hold these kinds of jobs have serious college plans. While low, such percentages still put these groups next in line in their likelihood to be planning to go to college, just as was the case for white males. The groups are also next lowest in percentage of possible dropouts -- those with glamour career goals having a somewhat higher percentage than those with lower white-collar desires or expectations. (This last finding makes sense, inasmuch as some glamour-type jobs -- in athletics and entertainment, for instance -- are achievable with minimal formal education, although for other types of glamourous work -- as in the arts -- much training may be needed.)

In contrast to the case of Negro males oriented towards white-collar and glamour careers, those who aspire towards, or expect to enter, blue-collar or armed service jobs are more likely to be potential dropouts than they are to be definitely planning for college. Again, this is a picture similar to that of white males. And here even in absolute percentage terms, whites are not generally at an advantage in their level of academic ambition. In fact, among those with lower blue-collar aspirations or expectations, the white boys show a markedly higher percentage than the Negroes in the potential dropout category.

Whereas almost 50 percent of the whites aiming towards semi-skilled or manual laboring jobs are considered fairly likely to drop out, this is true for only about 30 percent of the Negro with the same job inclinations. Among those actually desiring this kind of work, 7.1 percent of the Negro males and only 3.9 percent of the white males expect to go to college. When we look at those expecting this kind of work, the percentages rise to 12.5 and 18.3 for Negro and white boys, respectively; the increase in percentage can be attributed to those with definite college ambitions who, nevertheless, are not very confident of being able to avoid low-status work.

College planning, again, is found among only about ten percent of the Negro boys who want or expect to enter skilled or skilled-service work. About one-fourth of these boys are potential dropouts. The likelihood of being a prime dropout candidate is similar to that found for white boys, as is the proportion of college planners among those wanting skilled jobs. But whites who expect such work do have a somewhat higher likelihood of holding serious college plans -- 21.5 percent of them, as compared to just 11.2 percent of the Negro boys, have definite college ambitions.

Negro boys with armed service aspirations or expectations tend to be somewhat less likely than their white counterparts to be classified as either college planners or potential dropouts. Only 6.2 percent of the Negro males wanting to have a military career are also serious college planners, as compared to 20.6 percent of the white males. But 31.1 percent of the white boys in this group are potential dropouts, as compared to 22.7 percent for the Negroes. As for those with actual expectations of an armed forces career, 13.2 percent of the Negro boys and 21.1 percent of the white boys have definite college plans, while 20.4 percent of the Negroes and 27.8 percent of the whites have a fair likelihood of not even finishing high school. Apparently, the intermediate level of education -- high school graduation and no more -- is much more likely to be the goal of Negroes inclined towards work in the armed forces than it is for whites.

While the absolute percentages may change, the same general pattern of relationship between occupational and educational plans that we have seen for boys emerges for girls in the sample as well. The highest likelihood of being a college planner occurs for those with professional or other high white-collar ambitions or expectations. This is true for both races, although white girls with these occupational goals are about twice as likely as their Negro counterparts to have definite college plans; the proportions are about two-thirds versus one-third, respectively. On the other hand, only five percent of the white girls seem to have high dropout potential, as compared to 12.0 and 8.7 percent of the Negro high-status job aspirants and planners.

Those hearing the call to glamour occupations display the next greatest likelihood of being college planners, although this group also has a fairly high percentage of potential dropouts, at least among Negro girls. A similar phenomenon had been noted and commented upon earlier in discussing the boys.

In some contrast, lower white-collar job aspirations and plans tend to be somewhat less associated with high academic ambitions than was the case for boys. Among males, holders of the lower white-collar occupational goal stood alongside those desiring or expecting to embark on a glamourous career, just behind those with upper white-collar goals, in average level of educational plans. But for girls desiring lower white-collar jobs, just over ten percent of those in each race have definite college plans and a slightly higher percentage are considered likely to drop out of high school. For those actually expecting this type of work, about ten percent in each race remain potential dropouts, with 15.6 percent of the Negroes and 24.2 percent of the whites now planning to go to college. Especially for whites, the extent of college planning is much less for those aiming towards the lower white-collar jobs than it is for those headed (or wishing to head) towards glamour careers.

Relevant to the sex comparison is the much greater likelihood for girls to have lower white-collar ambitions. The clerical and sales jobs comprising this occupational category do, in fact, attract a higher proportion of female than male workers.[6] Indeed, it would seem that males going into this line of work will be a more select group and will tend to find places towards the upper echelon of the lower white-collar category -- as highly paid or head salesmen, chief clerks, etc. Such positions would probably tend to require higher levels of educational attainment than would be needed by most women in clerical and sales work. This makes more understandable the greater academic ambition of males, as compared to females, who seek or expect to enter lower white-collar jobs.

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[6] United States Census figures for 1960 show 13.8 percent of the men in clerical and sales occupations, as compared to 37.5 percent of the women.

As was the case for boys, the girls with blue-collar or armed forces desires or expectations tend to rank lowest in level of academic plans. Among Negro females, well below ten percent of those wanting such jobs seriously expect to go to college, and at least 25 percent are potential dropouts -- the percentage is 36.9 for those with semi-skilled or manual labor aspirations. For white girls also, less than ten percent with blue-collar aspirations have college plans, and 30 percent or more are possible dropouts. The few who would like a military career -- this choice is much more popular among Negro girls than it is among white girls -- count 15.4 percent with college plans, but again have over 30 percent who may drop out.

When we turn to expected jobs, still less than ten percent of the Negro girls with blue-collar plans seem likely to be college bound. Slightly over ten percent of the military careerists have definite college plans. Potential dropouts are found among 28.3 percent of those expecting to end up in lower blue-collar work and among just under 20 percent of those with skilled labor or armed service job expectations. For the white girls, serious college planning exists for only 5.4 percent of the few (N=37) who expect to have lower blue-collar work, for 12.7 percent of those who have skilled labor expectations, and for 17.4 percent of those expecting to have a military career. Dropping out seems a distinct possibility for 35.1 percent of those with lower blue-collar expectations, for 28.3 percent of the armed-forces bound, and for 18.0 percent of those foreseeing skilled or skilled service work for themselves.

The housewife job category is an interesting one with which to close this discussion of occupational and educational planning among high school girls. First of all, this is work that is very seldom the first choice of either white or Negro girls in the sample. The few who do so choose are generally a sorry lot, from the standpoint of educational ambitions. Seven of the 11 Negro girls in this group (with codable answers on educational plans) are potential dropouts, as are 12 of the 27 white girls. None of the Negroes is a definite college planner; only five of the whites are.

But housewifery is a fairly common expected career for girls of both races;[7] and whites, at least, with this expectation are fairly ambitious in their educational plans. Almost one-quarter of the white girls expect to end up purely as housewives, even though only about one percent want this as their primary career. Of the girls expecting this vocation, 27.3 percent have definite plans to attend college. This is a higher percentage than is found for white girls with lower white-collar job expectations. But the percentage of potential dropouts among white girls with housewifing expectations is also relatively high -- 23.2 percent -- over double the rate for those expecting to have lower white-collar jobs and also higher than the rate for those with skilled labor expectations. Obviously, an expected housewife career, like farming for white boys, has a range of meanings to white girls. It is seen as a likely fate for large numbers of both college-bound and dropout-prone youngsters. Unlike most career categories, it does not seem to call for or to rule out the inclusion of persons from any particular level of educational attainment.

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[7] Included in the "housewife" category are a small, but unknown number of responses where the student wrote about heading her own household, without specifically saying that she would be married.

This is not so true for Negro girls, who, as with their male counterparts and farming, indicate that the housewife role is seen as much more compatible with low educational attainment than with high attainment. Thus, 26.2 percent of the Negroes who expect to be housewives are high on dropout potential, as opposed to only 14.2 percent who are planning to go to college. Apparently, those Negro girls resigned to a future as a housewife are also resigned to a low level of education, either through choice or despair. Being a plain homemaker is more the mark of non-success, then, for Negro girls than it is for white girls. We had noted before that Negro girls show tendencies toward maintaining the relatively dominant position of females within the Negro subcommunity. The greater disdain for being "just a housewife" among the more educationally ambitious Negro girls, as compared to similar white girls, is further evidence of this aim for a higher place in the role structure for the former. The somewhat higher proportion of Negro girls, as compared to Negro males, aiming for high white-collar jobs further attests to this -- especially in the light of the reverse finding among whites.

Application of "Talent" Controls

Before entering a fuller discussion of the meaning of the patterns of relationship between occupational and educational plans, we need to look briefly once again at the operation of certain scholastic measures that have become standard control variables in this survey. In evaluating how realistic is job planning among our respondents, it would be helpful to know whether the better students -- in ability, commitment, and performance -- show a different pattern from that of the poorer students.

All three of our talent variables show a consistent and fairly strong relationship with occupational plans. (See marginal frequencies in Tables IX-4,5, and 6.) For the limited number of students for whom we have ability scores, half of the boys with professional and higher white-collar expectations are in the high ability group, compared with a third of these with lower white-collar and a fifth of those with skilled and semi-skilled job plans. These figures are almost identical for Negro and white males, suggesting similar validity of plans as far as the ability variable in itself is concerned. Very similar figures can be observed for the percentage of boys with high grades in school. There is, however, an interesting difference in the relationship between occupational plans and the degree of academic commitment. Half of the Negro boys with professional and high white-collar plans have high academic commitment, compared with only a fourth of the white boys. At the other extreme of plans, still a third of the Negro boys but less than 10 percent of the white boys expecting to go into skilled or semi-skilled jobs have high commitment. This variable, then, shows a higher relationship with plans for whites than for Negroes, but even the big majority of white males who are quite ambitious occupationally are relatively low in their commitment to the high school academic process.

Let us now examine the joint effect of occupational plans and these "talent" variables on educational plans, using expected rather than preferred occupation. It is immediately apparent, from Tables IX-4, 5, and 6, that high occupational goals are most effectively related to high educational plans for those students who are highest in ability, have the most commitment to school work, and make the highest grades. This group has the highest rate of planning for college, reaching over 80 percent for white males, and the lowest proportion -- well under 10 percent -- in the potential dropout group. We should note particularly that well over half of the Negro males in this high-goal, high-talent group plan on going to college.

At the other extreme, among students with relatively low job expectations, we find relatively few planning to go to college and a very high proportion who may drop out of high school among those who are low in ability, and even more so among those who are low on commitment and grades.

Students who are high either on one of the talent measures or on occupational plans, but low on the other, are intermediate between the two extremes. Among students who plan on careers in the professions or other higher status jobs, but who are low on the talent measures, we find a higher percent planning to go on to college than for students high on talent but planning for a skilled job. Using these extremes, then, it may be said that there is some evidence in the data that job plans may be a little more important for future educational planning than is ability, degree of commitment, or grades in school. It is significant, in this respect, that the differences between these opposing corners of the distribution are much greater for commitment and grades than for ability, suggesting once more that students may not see the high school educational process either as important in itself, or as definitive in affecting their later careers. The same kind of comparisons made for the percentage of students classified as potential dropouts does not show any consistent difference in the relative effect of these two kinds of variables.

The comparisons just made should not obscure the fact that educational plans, both high and low, are related strongly to occupational plans within each talent level, and to talent within each plans level, with neither kind of variable canceling out the effect of the other.

A few additional points can be specifically made about the data in these three tables. Among male students of both racial groups, the proportion with low educational plans remains fairly high for those with high ability, compared with that for students with low ability; but the drop in percentage with low plans is much greater when we move from low to high commitment or low to high grades. In other words, commitment and grades reflect past and present effort and affect the plans for completing high school more than does ability for students with lower job expectations. Another comparison can be made for students with low academic commitment; the effect of job plans on the probability of dropping out is much greater for whites than for Negroes. The low commitment Negroes planning for high level jobs have only about a third less dropout potential than those expecting a skilled job, while the difference is considerably greater for white students.

Possibly most significant is the observation that the percentage planning to go to college is depressed proportionately more for Negroes than for white students by a decrease in either talent or in level of future job expectations. A relatively high proportion of the white students still expect to go to college if lacking one or the other of these kinds of influence, but the Negro student needs both if he is to begin to approximate the likelihood of having high goals that is found for comparable white students. As we have pointed out before, this is another instance of the apparent conclusion that one reason for the difference in white and Negro college expectations, for all variables we have examined, is that the Negro student has to have a larger number of factors in his favor in order to have the same level of educational expectations. The "favorable" factors may be more intercorrelated for white students and consequently better indexed by separate variables we have considered, so that analysis by only one or two independent variables does not tap the "causal set" of variables as well for Negroes as for whites, leaving us with unexplained racial difference throughout.

Instead of high occupational plans being associated with high educational plans most strongly in the case of high-ability or high-performance students, we find that occupational plans may make more of a difference in educational planning for those relatively low on scholastic ability or behavior measures. Perhaps the safest conclusion, in all this, is that the two variables of occupational plans and ability (or performance) are really more additive than multiplicative in their effects on planning for future education. Thus, students showing relatively little promise on scholastic measures but having relatively high job expectations are at least intermediate in educational ambitions, just as are those with low job expectations but relatively high standing on the scholastic variables. Either factor can serve to elevate educational horizons; favorable position on both factors tends to maximize the level of educational plans; unfavorable position on both tends to minimize these plans.

Summary and Discussion

Now to examine some of the implications of our findings about the relationship between occupational and educational plans. We have found that there is, indeed, a more or less direct relationship between these variables; the higher the occupational goals, the higher the level of anticipated educational attainment. Moreover, we have noted that occupational expectations have some independent effect (or at least independent predictive power) beyond that contributed by scholastic performance and ability measures. It would seem, then, that there is a good chance that occupational plans do influence educational plans for a sizable number of students, although the influence may well often be in conjunction with the influence of other variables.

But the relationship between the two kinds of planning is certainly not complete. With disturbing frequency, we find apparently inappropriate combinations of occupational and educational plans. Either respondents have job plans that cannot be realized with the education they expect to get, or they have job plans which will not fully utilize their expected education. Table IX-7 gives a rough indication of the frequencies of some kinds of inconsistencies. It deals with only the most obvious cases: (1) the percentage of all respondents (with classifiable answers) who anticipate holding jobs requiring a college education (i.e., professional jobs) but who are not seriously planning to go to college right after high school; (2) the percentage with similar job expectations who are not planning ever to go beyond high school in education; and (3) the percentage who expect to have blue-collar jobs but who are planning to enter college after high school graduation. (Possibly the latter should be termed "incongruent" rather than "inconsistent".)

First, we see that among those with classifiable responses on job and educational plans, 12.1 percent of the Negro boys and almost one-quarter of the Negro girls are not expecting to proceed to college after high school, despite having professional job expectations. Among whites, the percentages are smaller -- 5.9 and 9.9 for boys and girls, respectively -- but they still point to sizable groups whose post-high-school education plans are not instrumental for reaching their job goals.

Aside from the possibility of response unreliability, there are two possible ways in which the apparent inconsistency could be satisfactorily explained. Perhaps educational plans call only for a delay in entering college. Or perhaps some schooling other than college could prepare the respondent for his expected job. The latter seems particularly applicable to the large number of girls expecting to become nurses.

The second row of percentages in Table IX-7 takes these possible explanations into account by looking only at those who have professional job expectations and no post-high-school educational plans. We still find a number of respondents, especially among Negroes, who are not making the educational plans needed to enter the jobs they expect to have. (One must remember that these percentages, while all below 7.0, are based on the total number of classifiable respondents of a given race and sex and not on just those with particular job expectations.)

Thus, there apparently is a hard core of students who are apparently headed for a rude awakening when they find that they have not prepared themselves educationally for the work they are planning to do, if, in fact, they really have such plans. We should not exaggerate their number -- they are not a major segment of those with relatively low educational expectations; and it is the raised aspiration level of a much large proportion of the latter which is the more important goal of this study. But they do constitute a group with obvious need for school counseling to avoid that "rude awakening." In addition, they are the most promising candidates for any general program designed to elevate students' educational planning; their occupational goals would seem to incline them toward receptivity to such a program.

The other group of "inconsistents" dealt with in Table IX-7 might seem to be less of a problem to educators and social planners. They are generally fewer than even those in row two of the table -- with the exception of white males. And they are at least not heading toward the frustration which might come from lacking the crucial means (proper education) to an important life goal (one's occupation). These are the students who say they expect to enter blue-collar jobs, but at the same time they are seriously planning to go to a regular college or junior college right after high school.

Again, there are two possible explanations for this combination of responses that make it more reasonable. First, for some students, college is not seen an an instrumentality for job preparation. This might apply, for example, to large numbers of girls (not covered in Table IX-7) with expectations of being a housewife. "Education for its own sake, not for what it can get you," might be their position.[8] Second, it is possible that some respondents have given as their "expected job" what they would take as a last resort, rather than what they really expect to do. The particular combination of questions that went into measuring "expected job" could, perhaps, be interpreted this way, though we doubt that this is true very frequently. But some of the cases in row three of Table IX-7 may be due to nothing more than measurement artifact.

On the other hand, many others not included in the table are likely to be additional examples of students who are planning to get more education than their expected jobs require. One might contemplate, then, about the wisdom of accepting such a group as being of little concern to those dedicated to the betterment of society. The students who seem to be planning to "overeducate" themselves are promising, in a real sense, to waste an important societal resource.

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[8] We, of course, cannot ignore the fact that college is instrumental to mate-catching. Obviously, many girls with the "housewife" goal do not go to college just for the sake of education.

The main area of expanding job opportunity is among those jobs requiring high levels of education. It is an important policy question whether we should do more to encourage students with higher levels of education (or of educational plans) to make full use of their training in their occupation, and leave those lower-status jobs, for which there is an overabundance of potential occupants, to those who are not educationally qualified (or who don't intend to qualify themselves educationally) for anything higher. Counseling might, therefore, also be of great importance to those whose numbers are only crudely indicated in row three of Table IX-7.

What is being suggested, then, is that if either, but not both, educational and occupational plans are directed towards a relatively high level of achievement, school personnel might be alert to the possibility of bringing the lower aspiration into accordance with the higher one. In this way, perhaps as many as 10 percent of today's students may end up more suited for the increasing opportunities for more highly skilled, higher status positions in the occupational role structure of our society.

Our discussion of the congruence and incongruence of educational and occupational plans among high school students closes with the observation that these two areas of planning, as the basic focus of school counseling, can often be employed by skillful advisors to maximize the aspirations of students -- with the end result of a fuller utilization by society of its manpower resources.

TABLE IX-1

Percentage Distributions of Types of Desired Jobs and Realistic Job Aspirations, by Race and Sex

	Race and Sex							
	Negro Males		Negro Females		White Males		White Females	
Type of Job	Desired Job	Expected Job	Desired Job	Expected Job	Desired Job	Expected Job	Desired Job	Expected Job
Professional, entrepreneurial, and managerial	36.2	27.3	49.0	36.5	46.7	36.1	46.1	31.3
Glamour	13.8	9.8	4.6	3.0	7.2	5.2	5.7	2.7
Lower white collar	5.2	4.4	29.3	20.9	8.6	10.2	35.6	33.1
Skilled or skilled service	30.3	25.7	10.1	9.1	20.3	16.7	9.3	6.5
Semi-skilled or manual	3.7	8.1	3.3	12.7	2.3	5.2	0.5	1.5
Armed Forces	10.2	20.6	3.4	4.0	8.0	14.9	1.6	1.9
Farming	0.6	4.1	0.0	0.8	6.8	11.7	0.1	0.4
Housewife	--	--	0.3	13.0	--	--	1.2	22.7
Total classifiable responses	3291	3387	4577	4752	2352	2174	2578	2483
Non-response or unclassifiable responses	1368	1272	1009	834	445	623	212	307

Table IX-2

Educational Plans and Desired Job, By Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Desired Job	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Professional, entrepreneurial, or managerial	1126	11.2	44.7	2142	12.0	32.7	1045	6.1	71.4	1138	5.9	63.0
Glamour	422	18.7	27.0	193	22.8	21.2	164	11.6	47.6	134	16.4	40.3
Lower white collar	159	15.1	21.4	1292	12.5	11.9	186	14.5	37.1	868	13.9	11.6
Skilled or skilled service	944	25.0	8.9	440	25.0	8.4	445	30.3	11.0	221	29.4	6.3
Armed Forces	321	22.7	6.2	147	25.2	5.4	180	31.1	20.6	39	33.3	15.4
Semi-skilled or manual	113	30.1	7.1	141	36.9	6.4	51	49.0	3.9	13	53.9	0.0
Farmer/housewife*	19	31.6	21.1	11	63.6	0.0	155	25.2	34.9	27	44.4	18.5

* Figures in this row refer to "Farmer" for males and "housewife" for females.

Table IX-3

Educational Plans and Expected Job, By Race and Sex

Expected Job	Negro Males N	Negro Males Percent 1-2	Negro Males Percent 6-7	Negro Females N	Negro Females Percent 1-2	Negro Females Percent 6-7	White Males N	White Males Percent 1-2	White Males Percent 6-7	White Females N	White Females Percent 1-2	White Females Percent 6-7
	Scores on Educational Plans Index											
Professional, entrepreneurial, or managerial	874	10.4	50.1	1661	8.7	35.9	748	4.1	76.9	745	5.0	67.8
Glamour	310	19.4	26.8	132	19.7	18.2	110	10.0	52.7	57	10.5	45.6
Lower white collar	136	13.2	24.3	953	10.8	15.6	208	10.6	51.4	766	9.7	24.2
Skilled or skilled service	816	22.9	11.2	407	19.2	9.6	330	22.7	21.5	150	18.0	12.7
Armed Forces	668	20.4	13.2	181	19.3	12.7	313	27.8	21.1	46	28.3	17.4
Semi-skilled or manual	257	26.1	12.5	579	28.3	9.0	109	45.0	18.3	37	35.1	5.4
Farmer/housewife*	130	30.0	12.3	583	26.2	14.2	245	22.9	32.7	538	23.2	27.3

* Figures in this row refer to "farmer" for males and "housewife" for females.

TABLE IX-4

Educational Plans and Expected Job Controlling for Scholastic Ability Level

Expected Job	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability			Low Schol. Ability			Medium Schol. Ability			High Schol. Ability		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
Professional and other high white collar	50	18.0	26.0	73	9.6	47.9	125	6.4	58.4	121	6.6	21.5	145	4.8	32.4	171	7.6	50.3
Lower white collar	10	0.0	0.0	19	5.3	10.5	15	13.3	26.7	94	13.8	13.8	131	9.2	11.5	105	8.6	24.8
Glamour	26	19.2	19.2	38	18.4	21.1	32	12.5	28.2	13	23.1	15.4	11	9.1	0.0	12	25.0	16.7
Skilled or skilled service	96	28.1	5.2	80	18.8	8.3	60	20.0	20.0	44	25.0	2.3	48	16.7	10.4	26	7.7	26.9
Armed forces	56	28.6	7.1	74	29.7	6.8	68	13.2	17.6	15	20.0	26.7	22	18.2	4.5	14	14.3	35.7
Semi-skilled or manual	27	44.4	3.7	38	28.9	5.3	21	23.8	14.3	84	34.5	3.6	67	23.9	6.0	43	18.6	9.3
Farming/Housewife	20	45.0	0.0	14	28.6	21.4	12	16.7	8.3	71	45.1	2.8	55	29.1	1.8	42	14.3	23.8

TABLE IX-4 (continued)

	White Males									White Females								
Professional and other high white collar	106	11.3	56.6	149	4.7	73.8	259	0.0	87.3	102	2.9	51.0	172	2.9	62.2	265	2.3	80.8
Lower white collar	42	11.9	33.3	57	14.0	54.4	54	1.9	63.0	208	9.6	13.5	179	10.1	20.7	123	6.5	47.2
Glamour	23	30.4	34.8	26	3.9	57.7	21	0.0	71.4	16	18.8	37.5	12	25.0	25.0	7	(0.0)	(85.7)
Skilled or skilled service	98	29.6	18.4	68	23.5	23.5	45	15.6	42.2	46	23.9	8.7	25	24.0	4.0	17	0.0	35.3
Armed forces	74	40.5	6.8	84	25.0	21.4	56	8.9	53.6	21	38.1	9.5	11	9.1	18.2	5	(20.0)	(60.0)
Manual or semi-skilled	18	61.1	11.1	70	35.0	30.0	16	25.0	43.8	7	(28.6)	(0.0)	11	36.4	0.0	5	(40.0)	(40.0)
Farming/Housewife	55	36.4	16.4	39	20.5	28.2	38	15.8	50.0	138	26.8	8.7	131	26.0	34.4	102	9.8	49.0

TABLE IX-5

Educational Plans and Expected Job, Controlling

for Academic Commitment

Expected Job	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment			Low Academic Commitment			Medium Academic Commitment			High Academic Commitment		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
Professional and other high white collar	56	28.6	37.5	380	10.5	47.1	427	7.3	55.3	58	32.8	29.3	580	11.9	33.4	1004	5.1	37.7
Lower white collar	19	31.6	15.8	70	11.4	27.1	44	4.5	25.0	50	30.0	4.0	378	13.5	13.0	515	7.2	18.8
Glamour	36	38.9	27.8	153	21.6	25.5	116	10.3	29.3	11	9.1	18.2	69	26.1	14.5	52	13.5	23.1
Skilled or skilled service	132	42.4	3.0	412	21.4	10.9	259	14.7	15.8	48	45.8	4.2	169	23.7	8.3	185	8.6	12.4
Armed forces	115	28.3	8.7	322	18.6	13.4	223	13.0	15.2	16	50.0	0.0	63	20.6	14.3	101	12.9	13.9
Semi-skilled or manual	41	53.7	4.9	141	19.9	12.1	73	23.3	17.8	75	54.7	2.7	265	32.8	6.0	234	14.1	14.5
Farming/Housewife	19	52.6	10.5	55	34.5	10.9	53	13.2	15.1	76	59.2	6.6	293	26.3	13.7	206	14.6	18.4

TABLE IX-5 continued

	White Males									White Females								
Professional and other high white collar	145	10.3	63.4	407	3.4	79.1	192	1.0	82.3	55	14.5	45.5	316	3.5	64.2	368	1.6	73.6
Lower white collar	52	17.3	25.0	120	8.3	55.0	34	8.8	76.5	123	24.4	15.4	442	7.7	22.2	196	4.6	33.2
Glamour	38	21.1	31.6	61	4.9	59.0	11	0.0	90.9	13	23.1	46.2	31	9.7	48.4	13	0.0	38.5
Skilled or skilled service	146	34.9	11.6	153	13.7	28.1	28	7.1	39.3	36	38.9	2.8	78	11.5	11.5	34	8.8	26.5
Armed service	138	47.1	9.4	144	14.6	27.1	28	3.6	50.0	14	42.9	14.3	24	25.0	16.7	8	(12.5)	(50.0)
Semi-skilled or manual	57	56.1	7.0	47	31.9	29.8	5	(40.0)	(40.0)	10	60.0	0.0	20	35.0	0.0	7	(0.0)	(28.6)
Farming/Housewife	104	36.5	17.3	111	13.5	41.4	28	3.6	57.1	122	46.7	13.9	277	19.1	28.2	139	10.8	37.4

TABLE IX-6

Educational Plans and Expected Job, Controlling for Grades in School

Expected Job	Negro Males									Negro Females								
	Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades			Low Grades			Medium Grades			High Grades		
	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7	N	Educ. Plans % 1-2	6-7
Professional and other high white collar	69	17.4	26.1	399	10.8	46.9	368	6.0	60.6	89	11.2	15.7	669	10.6	30.9	818	5.9	44.3
Lower white collar	21	14.3	14.3	62	19.4	27.4	45	2.2	24.4	66	12.1	3.0	416	11.1	12.0	438	9.4	21.9
Glamour	47	34.0	19.1	144	16.0	26.4	99	12.1	33.3	19	26.3	21.1	64	17.2	15.6	41	19.5	22.0
Skilled or skilled service	124	39.5	3.2	477	19.7	11.5	172	16.3	15.7	48	29.2	4.2	216	19.9	8.3	117	9.4	15.4
Armed forces	113	29.2	5.3	389	20.3	13.4	146	13.0	20.5	22	31.8	0.0	98	19.4	15.3	55	16.4	12.7
Semi-skilled or manual	51	45.1	3.9	140	22.9	12.9	47	12.8	23.4	78	38.5	2.6	283	29.7	5.7	169	17.2	18.3
Farming/Housewife	20	50.0	5.0	63	27.0	12.7	34	23.5	17.6	63	41.3	7.9	277	27.4	10.1	206	17.0	21.4

TABLE IX-6 continued

	White Males									White Females								
Professional and other high white collar	68	13.2	52.9	281	4.6	74.0	392	2.0	83.7	28	3.6	32.1	218	5.0	56.4	494	2.4	75.3
Lower white collar	37	13.5	37.8	101	11.9	44.6	68	7.4	70.6	81	19.8	3.7	354	11.3	16.7	322	5.3	38.2
Glamour	21	28.6	14.3	55	5.5	58.2	33	6.1	66.7	8	(25.0)	(12.5)	26	11.5	42.3	22	0.0	63.6
Skilled or skilled service	80	45.0	7.5	185	17.8	22.7	58	8.6	32.8	22	40.9	4.5	83	15.7	8.4	41	7.3	26.8
Armed forces	74	43.2	6.8	162	27.2	19.1	67	7.5	44.8	6	(66.7)	(0.0)	25	24.0	16.0	13	15.4	30.8
Semi-skilled or manual	39	59.0	5.1	53	43.4	15.1	16	12.5	62.5	9	(55.6)	(0.0)	14	28.6	0.0	13	30.8	15.4
Farming/Housewife	58	39.7	17.2	123	22.0	31.7	61	8.2	50.8	70	44.3	5.7	246	30.9	13.8	221	8.1	49.3

Table IX-7

Percentage of Total Respondents (with Classifiable Answers)
Showing Gross Incongruity Between Educational and Occupational Plans, by Race and Sex

Type of Incongruity	Race and Sex Negro Male	Negro Female	White Male	White Female
Professional job expectations; not definitely to college after high school	12.1	23.2*	5.9	9.9*
Professional job expectations; not planning on any education ever past high school	6.7	4.3*	2.8	1.3*
Blue-collar expectations; definite plans to go to college	3.9	2.0	4.4	0.9
Total classifiable respondents	3191	4527	2063	2348

*Nursing included in "professional job" category, but nursing school not considered "college."

CHAPTER X

GENERAL ATTITUDES OF STUDENTS

In this chapter, we turn to several general attitudinal dimensions, to see whether certain outlooks on life tend to be associated with particular educational goals. For example, are optimism, confidence, and satisfaction about oneself and one's future more the mark of those expecting to attain high levels of education? Is general "value of effort" something that would be more frequently found among college planners? And, finally, are geographic mobility intentions more common for those who have relatively high educational goals?

The measures used in this chapter's discussion come mainly from the last part of the questionnaire. This is the section where non-completion cuts most deeply into our sample, especially for Negro males. Around one-third of this group, about one-fifth of the Negro girls, and somewhat smaller proportions of whites failed to answer most of the questions we shall discuss here. This loss of respondents may well have affected the distribution of respondents along the various attitudinal dimensions. More specifically, we suspect that those with less optimism and self-confidence, less trust in the value of work and less inclination to move from the South (at least among Negroes) are underrepresented in the group who did complete the questionnaire. For among those who did answer the questions, low ability is associated with the above list of characteristics. Still, there is no reason to believe that the non-response groups' exclusion has any affect on the relationships that we shall find between educational plans and various attitudes. And this will be our primary focus.

Optimism, Self-Confidence, and Self-Satisfaction

Even considering the relatively high non-response rate, our data indicate, as might be expected, that youth is not generally a time for self-doubt. The vast majority of our respondents in every subgroup express optimism about their futures, along with confidence and satisfaction about themselves. The questions asked are these:

1) Do you think your chances for living the kind of life you want are better, or worse than those your father (mother) had when he (she) was your age?[1]
2) Do you feel you can do well on anything you try?
3) Are you satisfied with the kind of person you are?

Only ten percent of the white boys who answered, and even smaller percentages of the other groups, feel their chances are no better or even worse than their parents'. Also, at least 85 percent of the respondents in every race-sex category feel they can do well on anything they try at least "most of the time." And only around ten percent report feeling "quite" or "very" dissatisfied with themselves, with a similar percentage (slightly higher among whites -- over 15 percent) saying they are "somewhat dissatisfied." Thus, on all three questions, at least 70 percent of those who answered choose one of the two most positive possible responses. The only racial difference of note is the somewhat greater tendency for Negroes in all three cases to select the strongest positive answer more often, and for whites to choose the slightly qualified positive answer -- e.g., "completely satisfied" versus "satisfied in most ways."

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[1] Answers were to be given only for the parent of the same sex as the respondent.

In general, college planning is most frequent and serious thoughts about dropping out occur least often among those who consider their chances as "much better" than their parents' chances were for reaching lifetime goals (Table X-1). Except for white girls, there is a steady rise in the proportion with college plans as optimism increases, and the range in (college-planning) percentages is at least 15 points between those with greatest and least optimism. White girls, inexplicably, show a markedly weaker trend, with only about a five point difference -- in the expected direction -- when we compare those who rate their chances as no better, or worse, than mother's with those who forecast "much better" chances. In fact, the white girls are least likely to expect to go to college if they see their chances as "a little better" than those of mother. There is also one noteworthy exception in the tendency for dropout potential to decrease with greater optimism. This is among Negro males, where the most pessimistic (chances "not as good") are no more likely to be classified as possible dropouts than are those who are mildly optimistic (chances "a little better"), and they are decidedly less dropout prone than those who say their chances are "about the same" as their fathers'. Still, the general picture is definitely one of increasing educational horizons associated with rising optimism. Which comes first is not the question here. Insofar as this item taps optimism about the possibility of social mobility, education is apparently viewed as one of the means of attaining it, or is seen as an element in mobility.

Likewise, the self-confident high school student tends to have higher educational expectations, although after a certain level of confidence is reached, there appears to be no additional increment in the level of educational goals. As Table X-2 indicates, there are only small differences, and the directions of change vary, in the percentages of college planners and of potential dropouts when we compare those who answer "always" and "most of the time" to the question "Do you feel you can do well on anything you try?" But there is no question that those with relatively low self-confidence -- checking answers of "not very often" or "seldom" -- are consistently less likely to be planning to reach high educational goals. In fact, college plans are about half as frequent, and serious thoughts of dropping out double, for those giving these answers, as compared to the more self-confident respondents. As just one example, 11.6 percent of Negro males in the two less-confident categories expect to go to college and 33.2 percent may not even finish high school. The corresponding percentages for Negro males in the two most-confident categories are 25.7 and 18.2 -- a dramatic shift, and one that is repeated for the other race-sex groups.

Self-satisfaction is not so clearly related to the level of educational plans (Table X-3). There is a consistent, but not strong, tendency for college planning to be greatest among those who say they are "satisfied in most ways" or "somewhat dissatisfied." More complete satisfaction or dissatisfaction with oneself are both less associated with plans for college. But the pattern is not so uniform across race and sex groupings, when dropout potential is used as our measure of educational expectations. In general, the percentage who may drop out is usually relatively low for those with qualified self-satisfaction -- those answering "satisfied in most ways," the single most popular response in all groups. But those who are "completely satisfied" are also low in percentage of potential dropouts, except for white males who are most likely to be uncertain of graduating if they answer this way. At the same time, the "somewhat dissatisfied" Negro male is a prime candidate for dropping out, even though this response is otherwise associated with a relatively high level of plans. We had expected that academic success and high goals would tend to bring a feeling of satisfaction, and that those students who had not achieved and had low goals would consequently feel dissatisfied with themselves. In the other causal direction, it is likely that the kinds of background and personal characteristics that lead to satisfaction would tend to breed success and continued high goals. In part, these hunches may be correct, for some, but this is a typical middle-class, success-oriented view. Two other factors may detract from the relationship expected. First, and most important, many of our subjects do not have high goals -- they want, and expect, lower status jobs, do not plan on going to college, may not even complete high school, and have a congenial and like-minded peer group -- and they are satisfied with themselves. In fact, it is probably well that they are. On the other hand, many of the harder striving and goal-oriented students may be dissatisfied because they are comparing their present position with what they wish to attain. They may not feel that they can afford to be satisfied until they have made more progress toward their goals -- and their attitude, too, may be functional. With these qualifications, our safest generalization in the case of self-satisfaction would seem to be that it is not a strong correlate of educational planning, but that those showing a balance of self-satisfaction and self-criticism -- with perhaps a bit heavier weighting on the former -- are somewhat more likely to seek high levels of education.

The evidence of this section is not conclusive, but it does seem to add some support to our earlier speculation that feelings of security and general well-being are conducive to the development or maintenance of high educational expectations. That the patterns of relationship persist -- though sometimes weakened -- when "talent" controls are introduced (tables not shown) provides further support. We can certainly not demonstrate cause and effect here, but it is true that high expectations do occur more often among the optimistic and self-confident. Self-satisfaction does not seem so important; in fact, if it is complete, it may actually be associated with a reduction in the drive towards the higher educational goal of college. Some desire to change oneself may thus be useful in providing the motivation to go on to college.

It should be noted that racial differences in college plans generally remain, regardless of the attitudes of the respondents as discussed in this section. Whites continue to have higher percentages seriously intending to go to college both among those with greater and less optimism, greater and less self-confidence, and greater and less self-satisfaction. Percentages of potential dropouts are often fairly similar for the races for a given attitudinal response category, but this also tends to be true for the sample overalll.

this also tends to be true for the sample overall. Thus, differences in the degree of optimism or self-confidence of Negroes and whites cannot explain why college planning occurs more frequently among the latter. But we can say that the more desirable condition in both races, from the standpoint of maximizing educational goals, is one where a high level of optimism and self-confidence has been instilled in the youth.

The Value of Effort

Another area of attitudes that seems worth exploring for its relationship to educational planning is that concerned with the valuation placed on one's own effort as a means for success in life. It was expected that more schooling would be planned by those who see themselves -- rather than luck or other external factors -- as determining the degree of their own success. To measure this, an index of "Value of Effort" (VOE) was constructed from responses to the following four items, the first three of which used Likert-type (degree of agreement) answers:

1) If a person is not successful in life, it is his own fault.
2) Lots of people cannot get what they want in life, even if they try very hard.
3) No matter how hard a person tries, he cannot be successful in life unless other people give him a chance.
4) Which do you think is more important for success, good luck or hard work?

A score of one point was given for agreement with the first statement, for disagreement with each of the next two, and for the choice of "hard work" in the last question. Conversely, a score of zero was recorded for answers of "luck" or "about the same" in the last item, as well as for disagreement with the first and agreement with the middle two statements. The sum of scores gives a VOE index with a possible range from zero (i.e., one's own effort is neither necessary nor enough for attaining success) to four (i.e., one's own effort is both necessary and sufficient).

There is a slight tendency for whites to score higher on this index -- a tendency that might have been stronger if non-respondents (among whom Negroes are overrepresented) were to be classified, as we suspect they would be, at the lower end of the scale. Among those who did answer all four questions, 34.0 percent of the Negro males and 35.5 percent of the Negro females had scores of 0 to 1, as compared to 27.9 percent of white males and just 24.0 percent of white females. Still, the mean scores within race-sex groups are quite similar -- 1.9 for Negroes and 2.1 and 2.2 for white males and females, respectively.

What is more significant is the definite relationship between VOE and educational plans. With only one minor exception, each increase in VOE is accompanied by an increase in the proportion of college planners and by a decrease in the proportion of potential dropouts. The only exception is that Negro males with a score of 4 tend to average slightly lower educational plans, as compared to those with a score of 3. But in general, the relationship is linear and fairly strong. For example, only one-fourth of the white males with a VOE score of 0 definitely plan to go to college, compared with half or more of those with scores of 3 and 4. At the same time, the percentage of possible dropouts ranges from 42.9 for those with a zero score to just 12.4 for those rated highest on VOE; the greatest difference is between those with scores of 0 and 1. Although whites generally have a higher rate of serious college planning (but not of potential dropouts) at all levels of VOE, the relationship with educational plans follows a pattern in all race-sex groups that is similar to what we have just noted for white males.

Thus, the more a respondent sees himself as bearing the main responsibility for how he fares in life, the more likely he is to be making plans to attain a high level of education. Those who see their fate as more susceptible to external factors are less likely to have high educational expectations. Undoubtedly, quite a few of the latter group would argue as follows:

> "What's the use? Why bother to get a good education? Hard work and the sacrifice entailed in getting a good education are just not worth it, when other things beyond your control are going to determine whether you're a success or not."

For some, this may be just a rationalization for a prior decision not to go on in school. But most certainly for others, this set of attitudes is part of the framework in which the decision is made to get out of school as soon as possible. The efficacy of hard work and of such deferred gratification as is needed for college-going are matters that may well be important to demonstrate to high school students in order to elevate their educational horizons. Of course, the key word here is "demonstrate," for it is not enough just to preach the virtues of effort; this needs to be proven. And for many students, especially in the lower class, the proof may often have to vie with common observations of little reward for hard work.

Regional Preference and Expected Residence

We now turn to a final set of attitudes which can help us to further our understanding of what various educational plans mean to the respondents. Actually, we are dealing with two types of measures here -- one, "attitudinal" in the sense that we have been using the term, and the other indicating a realm of planning that is more like our variable of educational plans than a purely "attitudinal" dimension. Because they are closely related, however, we have chosen to deal with them together.

First, we have a measure of regional preference as derived from two questions:

1) In what part of the United States do you think a person like yourself has the best chance to make a success out of his life?

2) In what part of the United States do you think it is hardest for a person like yourself to make a success out of life?

The index of preference contains three categories: (1) the South, (2) the non-South, and (3) not much difference between regions.[2]

Second, a measure of expected residence was derived from the question: "Where do you expect to live when you are grown up?" Responses were combined, again, into three categories: (1) the same community as at present, (2) elsewhere in the South, and (3) outside the South.

Perhaps the most striking finding from these questions is the very great difference between the races in their responses. As Table X-5 shows, Negroes are overwhelmingly dissatisfied with the South and expecting to reside outside the region.[3] This is not true for whites. Undoubtedly, we have here a clear reflection of the differential experience of Negroes and whites in the South, although the picture may be changing rapidly as Negroes become increasingly involved in activities that are favorably affecting their local environments.

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[2] In addition, a very small fourth group of inconsistent respondents -- naming the same region as both best and worst -- was eliminated from the analysis.

At any rate, among the survey respondents who were classified, over 70 percent of the Negroes, but less than 15 percent of the whites express a preference for the non-South. And about 70 percent of the Negroes and only a quarter of the whites actually expect to leave the South. Whites are much more likely to see "not much difference" between regions. Within each race, girls are more likely to answer "not much difference" on regional preference; and, if they expect to stay in the South, they are somewhat more likely to plan to leave their home communities than are the boys. (We suspect this is either because of perceptions of poor work opportunities locally or because the girls anticipate marrying outsiders and moving to their husbands' choices of residence.)

Many of the correlates of regional preference and expected residence in our sample have been discussed elsewhere.[4] Here we shall concern ourselves only with the relationships with educational plans, as shown in Tables X-6 and 7.

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[3] As noted at the beginning of this chapter, this finding may be somewhat exaggerated by the high non-response rate which may subtract cases more from the ranks of those relatively satisfied with the South, or at least relatively unlikely to leave.

[4] See M. R. Cramer and C. E. Bowerman, "Geographic Mobility Aspirations of Southern Negro and White Youth," a paper read at the American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, September 1964. This paper is being revised for separate publication.

Not only do the races differ in their perceptions of the South, but the relationship of these perceptions to educational plans also differs by race. There is virtually no correlation between plans and regional preference among whites. In all categories of preference, a little over two-fifths of the boys and almost two-fifths of the girls expect to go to college, while about one-sixth of the boys and something less than 15 percent of the girls may drop out. Among Negroes, however, the relatively few who prefer the South definitely tend to have lower educational ambitions. For example, only 12.7 percent of the Negro females who like the South expect to go to college, and 23.8 percent are not even sure of finishing high school. In contrast, 23.8 percent of those preferring the non-South are college-bound, and only 14.3 percent may drop out. Those Negroes who see "not much difference" in regions tend to be intermediate (but more similar to the anti-South group) in their rate of college planning and possible non-completion of high school.

When we turn to expected residence, the non-South-oriented among Negroes are, again, most likely to have high educational goals. Among the males, 28.6 percent have college plans and 14.6 percent may drop out. The corresponding figures for Negro females are 24.1 and 13.7 percent. As with regional preferences, the rate of college planning, even in this most aspiring group, is not nearly equal to that of whites. But still, this is the only group of Negroes where college intentions are more frequent than are serious thoughts about dropping out. Those expecting to live elsewhere in the South are lowest on college planning -- just 16.9 percent of the boys and 17.0 percent of the girls. And those not expecting to move are highest in their percentage of potential dropouts -- 27.5 percent of the boys and 21.2 percent of the girls. It would appear that those most likely to drop out are also most likely to stay in the local community; those aiming for a high school diploma are more likely to move away, with the likelihood of leaving the South maximized among those planning to go to college.

For whites, the precentage who will probably complete high school, fairly independent of migration plans -- a high school diploma is of about equal value in any community. However, college planning is found somewhat less among white students expecting to remain in the same community. This may be associated with job opportunities, since many of the sample live in small towns with limited possibilities and there is less need of a college degree for either job or status.

These patterns of relationship between educational plans and sentiments about the South hold important implications for those concerned about the region. They seem to portend an especially large exodus of the more highly motivated Negroes -- those with higher educational goals, at least. The out-migration of whites from the region does not threaten to be so adversely selective. Thus, not only do a much larger proportion of Negroes, as compared to whites, entertain serious thoughts of leaving the South, but a high proportion of the prospective Negro out-migrants are among the more promising of their race, with respect to the level of education they expect to attain. To put it more simply, these data indicate that the South is faced with a possibly great loss of those Negroes who, it would seem, could contribute the most to the region. Among whites, there may be, as usual, some relocation of the best educated within the region, but a relatively smaller outflow from the region is promised for this group.

Summary

We have tried, in this chapter, to contribute a few additional insights into features associated with college- and dropout-planning among our respondents. We have also discussed some implications of these findings. In general, we have observed that educational goals tend to be highest for those students with a high degree of optimism and self-confidence and with a strong feeling that a person can be master of his own fate. Also, we have shown that Negroes who are most alienated from the South and who plan to leave the region are somewhat more likely to have high educational ambitions.

We are now ready, in the concluding section of this report, to attempt some intertwining of the pieces of our picture of correlates and possible determinants of educational plans. In the next chapter, we shall see how combinations of certain sets of independent variables affect relationships with plans that have been noted in earlier chapters. And, in Chapter XII, we shall explore possible effects from variations in "school context" -- what the student population in particular schools tends to be like (as indicated by the modal or average responses to assorted questions in our survey).

Table X - 1

Educational Plans and Perceived Chances of Living a Satisfactory Life
(as compared with one's parent of the same sex),
By Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Chances As Compared to Parent (of same sex)	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Not as good	88	28.4	11.3	103	31.0	8.8	78	37.2	25.6	29	31.0	34.4
About the same	163	45.4	13.5	188	30.9	12.2	184	34.2	28.2	184	17.9	36.4
A little better	740	29.1	16.2	936	25.2	16.8	706	22.6	37.3	712	18.3	28.4
Much better	2344	15.5	27.2	3462	12.6	23.5	1510	11.9	50.4	1643	10.8	40.0

Table X-2

Educational Plans and Self-Confidence, By Race and Sex

"Do you feel you can do well on anything you try?"	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	Score on Educational Plans Index											
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Yes, always	745	18.2	23.4	813	15.5	24.0	199	17.1	43.7	166	10.8	44.0
Yes, most of the time	1847	18.2	26.7	2919	13.6	23.0	1861	14.9	47.3	2018	11.5	38.1
Not very often	275	32.3	11.3	502	28.7	11.6	230	36.5	25.2	298	27.5	23.5
Seldom	105	35.3	12.4	158	25.9	15.2	41	34.2	19.5	42	30.9	16.7

Table X -3

Educational Plans and Self-Satisfaction, By Race and Sex

Scores on Educational Plans Index

"Are you satisfied with the kind of person you are?"	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Very dissatisfied	188	28.1	18.6	215	25.6	12.0	84	20.3	34.5	111	23.4	27.9
Quite dissatisfied	192	25.0	17.2	229	21.0	20.1	128	18.8	38.3	123	26.0	24.4
Somewhat dissatisfied	344	32.0	27.1	443	20.1	22.4	381	17.0	46.2	450	14.5	42.4
Satisfied in most ways	1218	16.1	27.0	2117	15.0	26.0	1359	15.6	48.4	1578	11.8	37.8
Completely satisfied	1055	18.2	21.6	1407	14.7	16.6	385	32.7	32.2	265	14.0	26.8

Table X-4

Educational Plans and Value of Effort, By Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Value of Effort Index Score	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
0 (Low)	132	25.0	10.6	257	24.5	14.0	70	42.9	25.7	50	32.0	20.0
1	826	23.1	22.4	1250	20.3	16.9	566	19.6	38.7	548	19.3	30.1
2	1128	19.5	24.5	1601	15.7	22.8	969	17.2	45.4	1004	13.3	35.6
3	631	12.7	29.1	981	11.0	25.9	588	13.1	50.0	717	9.9	40.6
4 (High)	133	17.3	27.8	186	7.5	30.7	121	12.4	51.2	196	8.2	47.0

Table X-5

Distribution of Regional Preference and Expected Residence, by Race and Sex

	Race and Sex			
Regional Preference	Negro Male	Negro Female	White Male	White Female
South	8.1%	10.1%	45.8%	33.7%
Non-South	77.8	70.7	13.7	10.9
Not much difference	14.1	19.1	40.5	55.4
Total	100.0 (2580)	100.0 (3903)	100.0 (2135)	100.0 (2481)
Expected Residence				
Present community	16.7%	11.7%	39.9%	31.0%
Elsewhere in South	14.6	16.3	35.0	43.0
Outside of South	68.8	72.0	25.2	26.0
Total	100.0 (3036)	100.0 (4464)	100.0 (2317)	100.0 (2566)

Table X-6

Educational Plans and Regional Preference, By Race and Sex

Regional Preference	Score on Educational Plans Index											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7
South	192	27.6	18.2	370	23.8	12.7	928	16.1	44.2	775	13.9	37.9
Non-South	1877	16.5	27.1	2635	14.3	23.8	278	17.6	43.5	253	14.6	36.0
Not much difference	339	16.8	22.1	700	15.4	22.6	765	16.7	47.2	1263	12.4	36.3

Table X-7

Educational Plans and Expected Place of Residence, By Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Expected Place of Residence	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Same community as at present	371	27.5	19.4	416	21.2	19.0	811	18.0	39.1	718	13.6	29.1
Elsewhere in South	301	20.9	16.9	569	19.5	17.0	694	14.0	50.6	997	12.3	41.1
Non-South	1736	14.6	28.6	2720	13.7	24.1	466	17.8	48.3	576	14.1	38.9

CHAPTER XI

COMBINED INFLUENCES ON EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

In this chapter, we will examine the combined effects of a number of the variables we have found to be correlated with educational aspirations. The method to be used is similar to that employed in earlier sections of this report, that is, to examine in tabular form the actual pattern of educational planning that tends to accompany a given combination of factors. This method permits the clearest examination of how variables may work together or at cross purposes in affecting educational ambitions of adolescents. Even with the large number of total cases we have, one problem that soon becomes apparent is that all combinations of possibly important independent factors cannot be examined at once. The number of students fitting certain specifications already begins to fall below the minimum desirable, even when groupings of just four variables are used and even when some adjacent categories are merged to reduce the total number of classifications resulting from a particular combination of variables.

For this reason, we shall generally have to deal with only parts of the overall multi-variate model at any one time. Our findings up to this point suggest two major overlapping systems of factors that may be seen as determinants of educational plans. One of these systems finds its focus in the home environment of the adolescent; the other, in the various individuals who serve as referents for him. The overlap, of course, stems from the fact that parents and siblings are both among the most important of referents and are part of the home environment. As will be seen in the forthcoming discussion, we have not attempted, in our groupings of independent variables, to cover all of those discussed in previous chapters, but it is intended that our selection include measures representative of the major factors.

Material Possessions and Place of Residence

First, we examine the interactive effects of socioeconomic status (as measured by the material possessions, or MP, index) and place of residence on educational planning. In Chapter III, the location and physical quality of respondents' homes had each been found to be fairly successful predictors of students' plans. Highest ambitions were most often found among urban students and among those with the most material possessions. But in Table XI-1, we see that the relationship between place of residence and plans is just about accounted for by differences in material possessions. The phenomenon of lower ambitions for the rural and farming youth is explainable in terms of the lower level of living that is more associated with rural than with urban living. But among those relatively few non-urban students with a high level of material possessions,[1] the proportions of college planners and potential dropouts are about the same as for those with high MP from the urban areas. With one noteworthy exception, the pattern of similar levels of educational goals for a given socioeconomic status, regardless of place of residence, is repeated for those with lower MP scores. The one exception is that urban white males with less than maximum MP do have substantially more frequent college plans than do the non-urbanites (especially the non-farming ones) with medium or low scores on material possessions. In other words, only for white males does place of residence seem to make a difference in plans independent from the difference associated with variations in the number of possessions. And even here, the rural-urban difference is erased for those enjoying the most affluent living conditions.

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[1] In Table XI-1, "high" material possessions refers to those scoring the maximum of 6 on the MP scale; "medium" refers to those with a score of 5; and "low" refers to those with scores of 0-4.

The general findings of Table XI-1 mean that place of residence usually adds little beyond what material possessions contributes to our ability to predict educational plans. We should recall from Table III-1 that material possessions is, indeed, a very strong correlate of plans by itself. It accounts for much of the overall racial difference found in planning. In fact, among those relatively low on MP, whites and Negroes tend to be about the same in percentage with firm college intentions and whites tend to be even more dropout prone. But some advantage in college planning does tend to remain for whites -- especially males -- when we look just at those having the highest material level of living. And differences in place of residence do not generally modify this advantage, except perhaps in the case of non-urban, non-farm females, where just under half of those in each race with maximum MP have firm expectations of going to college.

Material Possessions, Birth Order, and Number of Siblings

Back in Table III-20, an indeterminant picture was seen of the relationship between educational plans and the respondent's place in the birth order, controlling for size of family. Among whites, oldest children seemed to have somewhat higher rates of college planning and seemed somewhat less likely to give serious consideration to dropping out. But among Negroes, birth order seemed to make very little difference, except that youngest were at a slight advantage, at least with regard to college planning. We now add the factor of availability of economic resources (material possessions) to see whether this brings the relationship between birth order and educational planning into sharper focus, with interest mainly in college planning, since it appears to be the planning indicator more sensitive to birth order influences. The idea here is one we discussed in Chapter III -- that perhaps college-deterring responsibilities weigh more heavily upon the eldest children in lower class homes, whereas in families of higher economic standing, the oldest child is free to act out his role as the main embodiment of parental ambitions, such as the goal of high educational attainment.

However, even with the added control for MP, there is still no consistent pattern in the relationship between birth order and educational planning. In Table XI-2, we include only those with high (6) or low (0-4) material possessions scores and subjects from families that are either "small" (1-2 siblings) or "large" (5 or more siblings). A few differences show up, but due to the small numbers often involved and the lack of consistent differences of any magnitude, no generalizations seem warranted.[2]

In Chapter III, we presented data showing that students from the larger families were more likely to be considering dropping out of school and less likely to be planning for college. Since family size is related to economic class, there was the possibility that these differences were due to class rather than to other characteristics associated with family size. In Table XI-2, we see that at each extreme of material possessions, students from the largest families are less likely to be going to college. The differences by size are somewhat greater for white than for Negro students. There is also a tendency for a greater proportion of students from large families to be found in the low EP group, controlling for both MP and birth order, again, particularly for white students. Instead of attaching great significance to these results, we should note that the material possessions index, although we have found it to be closely associated with educational plans, may not be a sufficient basis for removing the social class component from family size in establishing the size-plans relationship. In other words, we find large differences in this table between students with high and low MP scores, but within these groups, there may still be enough economic differentiation to permit class to influence family size, with variations in the latter then related to plans. Nevertheless, the relationship remaining after MP is controlled does invite further data analysis at a later time.

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[2] In fact, about two-thirds of all whites covered in Table XI-2 are accounted for in just the first three rows -- those concerning students with maximum MP and few siblings. These are the rows where educational goals tend to be highest in both races, although the percentage of Negroes with college plans does not usually go as high as for whites. (Where possessions are fewer and/or families are larger -- where ambition is likely to be more modest in both races -- Negroes do not tend to suffer from similar comparisons.)

In contrast with the whites' concentration in the top rows of the table, about 90 percent of the Negroes are found in the other categories. Thus, we again have whites overrepresented in the classifications with generally the highest educational ambitions -- the small families with high socioeconomic status. And this certainly helps to account for the fairly large overall racial differences in educational plans. Large family size and material deprivations -- both negative influences on planning -- are much more likely to be found separately or in conjunction among Negroes, as compared to whites in our sample.

Material Possessions, Family Stability, Number of Siblings, and Parental Support for Education

We next turn to the interconnections of four features of the respondent's home life, each one having been shown in earlier chapters to be consistently related to educational plans. Two of these we have just discussed in the preceding section: material possessions and size of family. The other two are family stability and parental support for education (PSE). In Table III-12, we saw that children from broken homes tended to have somewhat lowered educational expectations, regardless of race or sex; and in Table V-1, the level of parental support for education showed a fairly strong positive correlation with level of ambition. But does each of the four variables we are about to discuss make a separate and equivalent contribution to school planning? Or is one or another of the variables more or less important from the standpoint of how plans are influenced?

It would appear from Table XI-3 that the situation generally associated with highest levels of educational expectations is one where the student has high MP and PSE[3] in his home and lives with both parents and a small number of siblings. A combination of the opposite conditions on these four variables tends to produce the lowest level of ambitions. But, in addition, there is a definite hierarchy in the extent to which each of these factors independently affects plans when the other factors are controlled for. The relationships between plans and PSE or MP emerge as generally the strongest, regardless of how the other variables operate.

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[3] In this discussion, PSE is divided into these categories: (1) High -- index score of 5-6; (2) Medium -- index score of 3-4; and (3) Low -- index scores of 0-2.

Let us examine the case of white males as an outstanding example of what we have just generalized. When all four variables are "positive," as is the case for about one-tenth of the whites (but less than two percent of the Negroes), 81.5 percent intend to enter college immediately after high school graduation and only 2.2 percent are considering dropping out. At the other extreme, none of the handful of white males who are "negative" on all four variables (N=17) has strong college plans, while 41.2 percent may drop out. If parental support for education runs counter to the influences of the other three factors, the greatest change from these "extremes" results. For example, if the other factors are positive but PSE is not high, only 53.9 percent of the white male students have definite college plans and 14.7 percent are considered potential dropouts. No other single negative influence reduces the college-planning percentage below 60.0 or raises the dropout potential above 6.1 percent. Conversely, if the other variables are detrimental to lofty plans but PSE is _not_ low, 16.0 percent have college ambitions and a similar percentage think they may drop out. This is by far the best showing for any group that has only one of the four variables under discussion acting positively on planning. However, the number of cases is too small to go overboard on this finding by itself. But the evidence is consistent for white males that variations in parental support for education are most closely associated with variations in educational plans -- within the confines of data treated in Table XI-3. It is also a significant factor in the other race-sex groups, although sometimes material possessions dislodges it from the position of prime importance.

One might make the additional point here that the combined effects of both MP and PSE weigh quite heavily against the combined effects of family stability and family size, when the two sets of factors are in opposition. Of the six combinations having two "positive" and two "negative" factors, college planning is least frequent and dropout contemplation is most widespread where MP and PSE are the relatively negative characteristics in the student's home environment. And, at least for whites, the reverse is true when PSE and MP are the positive features of the respondent's home situation.

If parental support for education and the material level of living in the home seem to make a difference in academic planning, by the same token, family composition (in either of the aspects that we deal with it) tends to have relatively less independent effect. The broken home or the one with many offspring can still produce a fairly high level of goals, so long as other factors are positive. And if the other factors are detrimental, living with both parents or having few siblings still does not appreciably elevate the level of expectations.

One final note as we complete our brief analysis of a third set of independent variables for this chapter. Table XI-3 still does not allow us to account for all of the difference in educational plans between whites and Negroes. Where conditions are most ideal, Negroes are still not as likely as whites to have high educational goals. To show this more clearly, in the bottom part of the table, we treat the four independent variables in an additive fashion -- two points for a positive position on each variable, one for an intermediate position (no intermediate position on the variable of family stability), and zero for a negative position. This permits a range of scores from zero to eight, with the latter representing positive conditions on all four variables. One can see that when positive and negative factors are balanced (scores 3-5) or where the negative factors predominate, the whites tend to be no more, or even less, interested in college than the Negroes in our sample. But whites have the definite advantage in college-planning rate among those with the highest composite scores, even though Negroes, too, benefit substantially from the conflux of positive factors in the home environment.

We shall now turn to some other features of the respondent's home life and combine them with PSE and MP -- the two factors that have been identified so far as most important -- in further effort to reduce the unexplained racial difference in plans and to pinpoint those characteristics that best differentiate the students with high expectations from those with lesser goals.

Material Possessions, Relations with Parents, and Parental Support for Education

It was thought that the quality of relations with parents might be an important added dimension in the picture of influences affecting the level of academic goals. Tables V-3 and 4 certainly indicated some association between educational plans and relations with parents. And it seemed reasonable to hypothesize that the physical comforts in a home and the degree of parental support for education would have their maximum impact on plans if the adolescent felt close to (or was not alienated from) his parents.

But such does not appear to be the case, according to Table XI-4. As long as both PSE and MP are high, plans tend to be at about their highest level, regardless of how close and respectful one feels towards his mother or father. In fact, among those students who are rated as having poor relations with both parents, but who are high on both MP and PSE, the percentage of serious college planners is at least on a par with the percentage for any other subgroup created in the combination of variables shown in Table XI-4. This even applies to the comparison with students high on MP and PSE and having good relations with both parents.[4]

Let us look at Negro males as an example here. Definite college plans are found among 47.7 percent of those who get along well with both parents and who are high on both MP and PSE -- the top row in Table XI-4. But such plans also exist for over 40 percent of those equally high on MP and PSE but who report poor relations with at least one parent. In fact, three out of five of those who have poor relations with both parents have college plans, if they are high on the other two variables.

By contrast, a weak position on either the MP or PSE dimension is not likely to be compensated for by the security of warm relations with both parents. When parents do not support education fully, only 33.1 percent of the Negro males expect to go to college, even if they get along well with their parents and have a maximum number of material possessions in the home. When reduced MP is the single non-positive influence, the percentage of college planners is just 25.8. And this percentage falls all the way to 16.3 for those Negro males who have good relations with both parents but whose MP and PSE scores are both not high. The percentage is no worse if relations with both parents are poor, so long as either MP or PSE is not low -- that is, if scores are medium or high on just one of these. The same conclusions would be derived if we had focused on dropout likelihood instead of on college planning. They also apply, perhaps even more strongly, for race-sex groups other than Negro males.

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[4] The indexes of relations with each parent have been dichotomized for this discussion. Scores of 0-4 are referred to as "poor" (relations) and 5-8 are referred to as "good."

Throughout the table, then, there are indications that college planning is more closely related -- in a positive direction -- to socio-economic status and parental support for education than it is to degree of closeness to one's parents. Moreover, the quality of relations with parents seems not to affect the association between planning and the other two variables.

Parents' Education, Relations with Parents, and Parental Support for Education

Similar findings prevail when parents' education replaces material possessions in the above analysis. We consider this substitution to be simply the use of an alternative measure of social class. But it also means that we bring to the multi-variate model the educational example of parents to go along with the support for education that they express or transmit in other ways to their or transmit in other ways to their children.

The "high" category on parents' education contains those with at least one parent who went to college. It is much more selective than the "high" category in the material possessions dimension. As a result, educational plans tend to be higher for students with the advantage of having parents' education rated high, as compared to those with maximum MP scores. But with this alteration in mind, it is still easy to discern in Table XI-5 that relations with parents just do not make much of a difference in educational planning, once PSE and social class (parents' education, like MP) have been allowed to operate. The latter two variables definitely appear to be the more significant parent-home factors in accounting for variations in educational ambitions. If parents are perceived as endorsing education and if social class is sufficiently high to provide a high material level of living and/or an example of college education from one's parents, then the children are quite likely to have strong expectations of going to college. The percentage of college planners among those experiencing such home conditions is higher for whites; but for both races, it certainly seems that these are the most crucial advantages that a young person's parents can provide for him if they want him to plan on attaining a high level of education.

The Addition of Other Referents

We shall next turn to see how much contribution can come from other referents, besides parents, in order to increase further the likelihood that students will have high educational goals. In this section we shall use indicators of sibling, friend, and teacher influence, added to either PSE or parents' education as the representative of parental influence. The sibling and teacher measures will be those that served as the focus of discussion in Chapters VI and VII, respectively. We look at three mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories of siblings, according to their educational experience: (1) only college-educated sibling referents, (2) no sibling referents or referents with mixed experience, and (3) only dropout referents. For teachers, we look at how well the respondent "gets along" with his teachers -- either very well, fairly well, or not very well. The measure selected to represent friends' influence concerns the educational plans of these friends -- either mainly oriented towards dropping out or towards college or, as an intermediate position, oriented in neither direction.

One thing we have done in Tables XI-6 and 7 is to make indices of combined reference group influences on educational planning. For each of the referents involved, a score of 2 indicates a positive position; 1, an intermediate position; and 0, a negative position.

As the tables show, the indices are rather strongly related to the planning level of students. When parents' education is used in the index (Table XI-6), the proportion of college-oriented among respondents with maximum scores of 8 is over nine-tenths for males of both races, four-fifths for white females, and three-fifths for Negro females. These proportions are about the same for those with scores of 7 (an intermediate position on one variable and positive on the other three), except among Negro males, where the drop is to a still relatively high 64.2 percent. Scores of 6 are associated with college planning rates of over 60 percent for whites and nearly 50 percent for Negroes. In general, the possibility of dropping out is considered seriously by much fewer than 10 percent of respondents of any race-sex group with scores of 6 or higher. Thus, if a student has at least three referents supplying a positive influence (or two with positive and two with intermediate influences), he tends to have an even chance or better of being directed towards college after high school graduation. At the same time, only about one in 20 may drop out among those who receive this much pro-education influence from persons who serve as examples and advisors.

Continuing with Table XI-6, we see that middle-range index scores are associated with substantially reduced educational goals and that when scores fall to 2 or less, the likelihood of being a potential dropout far exceeds the chances of college-planning in all race-sex groups. In fact, when there are either at least three negative influences from reference persons or two negative and two intermediate influences (i.e., a score of 2), those with college plans constitute fewer than one-tenth of the total. And around two-fifths or more may drop out. (Half or more with scores of 1 are rated as dropout possibilities, except among white males, where the percentage is 48.7.)

When we use PSE, rather than parents' education, in the index, the same generally strong positive relationship with level of educational expectations appears (Table XI-7). An index score of 8 is associated with just as high a rate of college planning for whites as was found for maximum scores in Table XI-6. And there is only one potential dropout out of 284 cases with a score of 8 in all four subgroups combined. The percentage intending to go to college tends not to be as great as in Table XI-6 for top-scoring Negroes or for those with moderately high index scores (6 or 7) in either race. But this may be mainly because high scores on the component PSE index are not as exclusive as are high scores on parents' education. The overall finding is the same in both tables: respondents' educational goals tend to rise with increasing pro-education influences from the combination of reference persons closest to the respondent.

Now the question to ask is whether any particular referent is most decisive in affecting the plans of adolescents. Here we need to look at the second parts of Tables XI-6 and 7 to see the relative effects of specific combinations of reference-person influences. Unfortunately, no clear answer is forthcoming from the tables. There is some evidence to support each referent's claim to be a very important influence. It is important to note, however, that there is a high degree of interrelatedness among sources of influence, as indicated by the low number of cases with all except one at the extreme.

In Table XI-6, the college planning of Negroes is affected most adversely when either parents' education or friends' plans runs counter to the other reference factors as the only non-positive influence. In such a situation, around 55 percent expect to go to college, as compared to 75 percent of the Negro males and 60 percent of the females who are lacking only a positive sibling example in a generally favorable picture of referent influences. There are too few cases to permit meaningful comment on the effect of teachers' being the single non-positive factor. We can also make no conclusion from Table XI-6 as to which single factor will help elevate educational goals of Negroes most if all other referents contribute negatively to plans, although small numbers may here, again, be the cause of our inability to see differential effects.

If in Table XI-6 the balance of evidence showed parents and friends to be somewhat more important for Negroes than teachers and siblings, the opposite seems to be true for Negro females in Table XI-7. Friends do seem a fairly significant factor for the girls, and they remain much more important than teachers for the boys. But PSE, in replacing parents' education as the index of parental influence, seems relatively ineffective as a brake on ambitions if it is not favorable to this ambition and all other referents are favorable. Once more, we have too small differences and too few cases to discuss which one variable can raise educational horizons the most when all others are negative in their influence on plans.

In studying the relative effects of referents on whites, we again must focus primarily on what happens when all but one type of person is positive towards education. For males, the college planning rate differs little for those having one type of non-positive referent, as compared to those having another. In Table XI-6, this percentage is between 85.0 and 87.6, depending on which referent is deficient; the percentage when all factors are positive is 94.7. In Table XI-7, the range is somewhat greater -- from 78.1 to 88.9 percent -- with a non-positive influence from friends or siblings seeming to be associated with slightly lower college-planning rates. Among females in both tables, friends stand out fairly sharply as the one reference type which can, by itself, adversely affect educational planning when all other factors are positive.

Other results not shown in Tables XI-6 and 7 also indicate a surprisingly important place for friends in the determination of students' educational goals, at least for whites. When there are only two positive referents, college planning is likely to be maximized for whites if one of these positive influences comes from the school plans of friends, and they are likely to be minimized if friends' influence is not positive.[5] For example, 75.6 percent of the white girls expect to go to college if their friends and siblings are college-oriented, even though they do not get along particularly well with teachers and their parents did not go to college. By contrast, only 29.7 percent plan for college if friends and siblings do not support such a goal even if parental and teacher factors are positive. In other cases for whites, however, it is the influence of parents (as measured by PSE or education attained) that combines with that of friends to raise or lower the level of plans most when the other two referents are contributing an opposite effect.

The picture is not so clear cut for Negroes. The combination of college-oriented friends and college-educated siblings makes for a relatively high rate of college planning -- a little over 40 percent in both sexes -- when one measure in the equation is PSE. At the same time, non-positive influence coming only from siblings and friends is associated with a relatively low rate of college planning -- under 25 percent for both boys and girls. But with parents' education in the multi-variate model, it seems perhaps most important -- although the cutting points between categories of this variable may again be partly responsible. At any rate, for the girls, college plans are relatively more frequent

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[5] We ignore here all classifications with fewer than 20 cases because of the instability of percentages based on these numbers.

(48.8 to 66.7 percent) in all three cases where parents' college education is combined with the positive influence from one of the other referents. The only exception to this for Negro boys is where only 28.6 percent have college intentions among those with college-educated parents and siblings, when friends and teachers supply a non-positive influence; but sampling error could be an explanation for this, since the number of cases involved is only 28.

We come out of the discussion of reference-person influences unwilling to specify a hierarchy of importance. Obviously, the combination of these variables is associated with large variations in the level of educational planning. But it is far from clear that any particular referent makes an especial difference if he, she, or they run counter to the influence being provided by other referents. For persons interested in maximizing the educational goals of high school students, this would seem to mean that at least a majority of reference sources need to be directing the child toward college for there to be a strong chance that he will plan to go. It is a complex problem to be able to structure deliberately a student's reference system to insure that positive influences will predominate. As the adults in the picture, perhaps parents and teachers can be held responsible for working together towards such a goal. But, of course, this means that they both must be persuaded that this goal is desirable.

Material Possessions and Value of Effort

Finally, let us look briefly at how one of the attitudinal indexes fares as a predictor of plans when combined with social class. It might be hypothesized that variations in the value of effort (VOE) would be more closely related to variations in educational plans for those having lower socioeconomic status. The norm in less disadvantaged groups is to expect to finish high school and, often at least, to go on to college. Thus, for well-situated children it may not require the determination that one can overcome adversity with hard work in order to expect to reach a high level of educational attainment. On the other hand, poorer children may have such expectations or ambitions only if they consciously resolve that they can rise in life through hard work.

However, the data of Table XI-8 are not particularly supportive of the above speculation. Within each MP level, there is a tendency for VOE[6] to be positively related to the likelihood of having college plans and negatively related to the likelihood of being a potential dropout. But it is impossible to say that this tendency is greater in lower MP groups. It is clear, however, that throughout the table, material possessions is the stronger correlate of educational plans. For a person with high MP has consistently greater likelihood of being serious about college, even if he is low on VOE. And those high on VOE but low on material possessions are generally less likely to have college plans than even those with medium MP and low valuing of effort.

Let us look at Negro males as an example here. Forty percent or more have college plans if they have a maximum number of possessions in the home and are either high or medium on VOE. Almost 40 percent (38.6 percent) have college plans even if VOE is low, so long as MP remains high. The percentage drops slightly -- to 36.6 -- when we move to those of medium socioeconomic status and high VOE. A further drop to just over 25 percent occurs for those who do not have a high VOE score to go along with a middle position on MP. Only 22.2 percent expect to go to college if they are in the low MP category, even if VOE is high. And only 12.1 percent have these expectations when both MP and VOE is low.

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[6] The Value of Effort index is subdivided here into three categories: (1) High -- score of 3-4; (2) Medium -- score of 2; and (3) Low -- score of 0-1.

A similar, though somewhat less striking, pattern would be seen if dropout possibilities were used, instead of college expectations, as the measure of educational planning. All in all, the value of effort can be seen as a useful variable for predicting differences in ambition within social classes. We also certainly do not rule out the possibility that this value may even be one of the determinants of plans. But social class is definitely superior as a predictor, and perhaps as an explainer, of variations in plans for the sample as a whole. The socioeconomic status of a respondent seems to set certain limits on the likelihood of seriously entertaining particular types of educational plans. A variable such as VOE seems able to affect the level of planning only within these limits.

Discussion and Summary

In this chapter, we have tried to identify several variables, among those studied in this report, which are really most strongly correlated with the educational planning of our respondents. Some factors have proved to be much more able than others to persist as successful predictors of the level of plans, even when other variables are held constant. Socioeconomic status and the pro-education influence of such referents as parents, siblings, friends, and teachers have survived as important correlates of plans. At the same time, the association with plans of place of residence, family stability, size of family, and relations with parents have proved to be largely explainable in terms of the other variables; in other words, they do not seem to have an independent relationship with plans.[7]

But, of course, strength of correlation and ability to predict are only part of our purpose in this report. We are willing to suggest that the important predictors of plans are also determinants of these plans. This is not to say that all of the causation is in one direction -- certainly the indexes of friends' and teachers' influences measure phenomena not necessarily antecedent to the development of educational plans. But we feel that the key independent variables of this study are probably important contributors to the maintenance of particular goals, even when not to the establishment of these goals in the first place.

To summarize what we seem to have established in this chapter: Higher educational ambitions (such as to attend college or at least to graduate from high school) are most easily produced by financial security in the home, combined with the demonstration of a positive outlook towards education on the part of persons significant in the adolescent's system of referents. The opposite conditions tend to produce lower educational goals.

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[7] This does not mean, of course, that this latter set of variables is unimportant in explaining the entire process. They are related to educational plans descriptively, and may also set the conditions within which the more immediate "causal" variables are produced and the situations within which they are effective.

We do not claim that these key factors give a fool-proof formula for insuring that ambition reaches a high level. How does one manipulate these factors to maximize their positive effect on educational plans? We cannot be confident that most students, especially among the Negroes, can easily be exposed to a predominance of factors promoting high educational expectations, even if we know what these factors would be. One might hope, however, that this report could stimulate thought on how to tackle this problem. At the same time, we might more realistically turn our attention to raising goals even when those determining factors currently seen as most important are opposed to high educational attainment on the part of particular young persons. Perhaps this can be done by accentuating the positive -- playing up the features of a student's environment most conducive to high ambition, when most features are not conducive. Or perhaps we must find substitute factors -- new conditions that can be brought into the student's life to compensate for those conditions that, till now, have fostered lessened ambition.

We are aware that other important influences on planning have not been touched on here. One group of these are the academic "talent" factors that have been discussed in earlier chapters. Certainly these are crucial -- perhaps most important where other factors are inconsistent in their various effects on plans. Suffice it to say that the data do suggest that "talent" remains an important factor to be considered in any complete multi-causal model.

"School context" is another wide-ranging variable that can be expected to affect the development of plans, along with features of home and reference systems. Here we refer to the prevailing social and psychological atmosphere in a school. The operation of a few aspects of this variable will now be examined briefly in Chapter XII.

Table XI-1

Educational Plans, Place of Residence, and Material Possessions, by Race and Sex

		Score on Educational Plans Index											
		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Place of Residence	Material Possessions	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Urban	High	454	11.0	42.1	549	7.1	40.8	665	10.8	59.8	814	8.4	46.7
	Medium	354	16.4	28.5	510	13.3	25.1	133	17.3	44.4	175	12.0	30.9
	Low	545	20.6	21.1	881	17.5	17.4	47	25.5	31.9	99	22.2	15.2
Non-farm Non-urban	High	123	16.3	38.2	113	8.8	48.7	350	12.3	58.0	380	9.5	48.9
	Medium	125	19.2	23.2	170	10.0	25.9	93	25.8	24.7	128	13.3	28.9
	Low	389	17.2	15.9	780	17.4	12.7	72	34.7	5.6	99	21.2	10.1
Farm	High	33	9.1	33.3	45	8.9	40.0	199	15.6	50.3	177	7.9	50.3
	Medium	74	23.0	29.7	108	11.1	28.7	147	13.6	36.7	151	11.9	32.5
	Low	486	22.6	14.8	876	18.4	16.3	149	32.2	16.1	191	25.7	10.5

Table XI-2

Educational Plans, Material Possessions, Number of Siblings, and Birth Order, by Race and Sex

			Score on Educational Plans Index											
Material Possessions	Number of Siblings	Birth Order	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
			N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
				1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High*	1-2	Oldest	88	9.1	47.7	91	4.4	49.5	461	10.8	62.5	417	7.5	53.0
"	2	Middle	33	21.3	36.3	46	2.2	34.8	165	9.1	57.6	140	10.7	47.2
"	1-2	Youngest	82	12.2	50.0	59	5.1	47.5	300	14.3	57.3	265	8.7	50.6
High*	5+	Oldest	45	8.9	35.6	36	19.5	33.3	21	19.1	38.1	23	13.0	52.2
"	"	Middle	262	14.9	31.6	251	10.4	36.2	119	23.5	28.5	103	23.3	18.4
"	"	Youngest	40	22.5	37.5	26	7.7	30.7	32	15.6	28.2	24	8.3	20.9
Low**	1-2	Oldest	138	21.0	21.0	155	12.9	17.4	51	35.3	9.8	54	26.0	11.1
"	2	Middle	67	20.9	19.4	97	13.4	17.5	21	4.8	28.6	28	32.1	10.7
"	1-2	Youngest	98	31.6	16.3	126	15.9	22.2	40	37.5	17.5	55	16.3	21.8
Low**	5+	Oldest	158	29.1	13.9	228	13.2	14.9	10	30.0	0.0	11	9.1	0.0
"	"	Middle	946	27.5	16.9	1521	22.3	12.1	106	31.1	11.3	123	34.2	6.5
"	"	Youngest	120	21.7	14.1	151	21.9	22.5	25	32.0	8.0	36	36.1	11.1

* MP score of 6

* MP score of 0-4

Table XI-3

Educational Plans, Material Possessions, Family Stability, Number of Siblings and Parental Support for Education, by Race and Sex

				Score of Educational Plans Index											
Independent Variable				Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Material[1] Possessions	Family Stability	Number of Siblings	Parental Support[2] for Education	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
					1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	Unbroken	0-2	High	71	4.2	56.3	69	0.0	56.5	232	2.2	81.5	243	1.2	67.5
High	Unbroken	0-2	Not High	72	20.8	40.3	58	6.9	41.4	646	14.7	53.9	537	10.8	46.2
High	Unbroken	3+	High	157	8.3	49.0	176	2.8	50.0	111	3.6	64.0	107	4.7	57.9
High	Broken	0-2	High	44	4.5	59.1	54	3.7	44.4	33	6.1	60.6	31	0.0	67.7
Not High	Unbroken	0-2	High	58	8.6	43.1	110	4.6	32.7	69	5.8	63.8	74	8.1	50.0
Not Low	Broken	5+	Low	54	31.5	7.4	42	26.2	9.3	32	37.5	12.5	21	38.1	9.5
Low	Unbroken	5+	Low	192	43.2	4.1	251	43.8	6.0	46	45.7	8.7	51	43.2	5.9
Low	Broken	0-4	Low	137	38.0	8.0	124	37.9	4.8	37	32.4	8.3	29	37.9	3.4
Low	Broken	5+	Not Low	350	21.7	17.7	522	16.3	13.4	25	16.0	16.0	28	17.9	10.7
Low	Broken	5+	Low	155	43.2	2.5	160	38.1	7.5	17	41.2	0.0	19	47.4	5.3
Composite Index Score[3]															
8 (Positive on all variables)				71	4.2	56.3	69	0.0	56.5	232	2.2	81.5	243	1.2	67.5
7				148	12.2	51.3	163	2.5	47.9	601	9.0	62.1	535	7.3	52.5
6				322	9.6	42.9	381	7.3	37.5	536	16.0	62.1	514	9.9	41.4
3-5				1920	18.6	21.8	2608	13.8	20.8	847	25.3	25.8	917	19.0	18.6
2				612	30.1	13.4	780	25.5	11.9	120	39.2	12.5	132	33.3	7.6
1				295	29.2	12.5	343	27.7	7.9	48	22.9	12.5	44	27.3	6.8
0 (Negative on all variables)				155	43.2	2.5	160	38.1	7.5	17	41.2	0.0	19	47.4	5.3

[1] "High" refers to an index score of 6; "not high" to a score of 0-5; "not low" to a score of 5-6; and "low" to a score of 0-4.

[2] "High" refers to an index score of 5-6; "not high" to a score of 0-4; "not low" to a score of 3-6; and "low" to a score of 0-2.

[3] See text for explanation of scores.

Table XI-4

Educational Plans, Material Possessions, Relations with Each Parent, and Parental Support for Education, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

Material Possessions	Relations with[1] Mother	Relations with[1] Father	Parental Support for Education	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
				N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
					1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	Good	Good	High	170	3.5	47.7	164	1.2	45.1	218	1.8	75.7	193	1.6	66.3
High	Good	Good	Not High	121	7.4	33.1	68	11.8	39.7	265	12.1	47.5	242	7.0	46.3
High	Good	Poor	High	47	14.9	46.8	132	3.0	44.7	28	3.6	78.5	104	2.9	57.7
High	Poor	Good	High	22	9.1	40.9	8	(0.0)	(62.5)	44	4.5	70.5	17	0.0	70.6
Not High	Good	Good	High	450	9.6	25.8	574	5.7	22.0	72	5.6	48.6	88	4.5	36.4
High	Good	Poor	Not High	99	18.2	30.3	117	12.9	27.3	163	15.4	53.4	262	11.1	36.3
High	Poor	Good	Not High	38	21.1	23.7	21	9.5	47.6	108	19.5	54.6	70	22.9	34.3
High	Poor	Poor	High	58	6.8	60.4	50	10.0	50.0	89	4.5	74.2	71	2.8	66.2
Not High	Good	Good	Not High	454	21.6	16.3	324	15.8	16.6	169	20.7	18.9	153	16.4	19.0
Not High	Good	Poor	High	156	12.1	30.1	629	8.0	21.6	17	11.8	47.0	57	8.8	33.3
Not High	Poor	Good	High	45	11.1	22.3	31	12.9	25.8	21	4.8	71.4	6	(0.0)	(33.3)
Not Low	Poor	Poor	Low	125	31.2	17.6	129	27.9	19.4	281	31.0	24.9	234	25.2	23.1
Low	Good	Poor	Low	98	30.7	11.2	165	35.7	4.2	24	41.7	0.0	37	35.1	2.7
Low	Poor	Good	Low	37	48.6	5.4	20	20.0	10.0	11	36.4	18.2	9	(44.4)	(33.3)
Low	Poor	Poor	Not Low	252	23.8	17.1	450	22.9	16.9	65	26.2	23.1	101	18.7	10.9
Low	Poor	Poor	Low	221	43.0	4.5	295	47.8	7.2	90	54.5	6.7	87	44.8	3.4

[1] "Good" refers to index score of 5 - 8; "poor" to an index score of 0 - 4.

Table XI-5

Educational Plans, Parents' Education, Relations with Each Parent, Parental Support for Education, by Race and Sex

Independent Variable				Score on Educational Plans Index											
				Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Parents' Education	Relations With Mother	Relations With Father	Parental Support for Education	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7	N	Percent 1-2	Percent 6-7
High	Good	Good	High	71	2.8	66.2	79	0.0	46.8	99	1.0	85.9	101	1.0	85.2
High	Good	Good	Not High	39	20.5	38.5	18	5.6	61.1	67	3.0	73.1	71	2.8	70.4
High	Good	Poor	High	26	3.8	65.4	62	3.2	50.0	18	5.6	66.7	40	2.5	77.5
High	Poor	Good	High	11	0.0	63.6	9	(11.1)	(66.7)	19	0.0	94.7	6	(0.0)	(100.0
Not High	Good	Good	High	456	8.1	28.3	550	5.1	23.5	180	3.9	61.7	175	2.9	43.4
High	Good	Poor	Not High	34	8.8	55.9	28	3.6	46.4	51	9.8	62.7	78	7.7	55.1
High	Poor	Good	Not High	5	(20.0)	(40.0)	6	(0.0)	(100.0)	39	5.1	71.8	21	4.8	76.2
High	Poor	Poor	High	27	7.3	77.8	30	0.0	76.7	54	0.0	88.9	38	2.6	84.2
Not High	Good	Good	Not High	467	18.6	18.2	319	14.7	20.1	350	17.4	30.6	301	12.3	28.6
Not High	Good	Poor	High	134	14.9	25.4	559	7.5	24.2	32	9.4	59.4	116	6.9	39.7
Not High	Poor	Good	High	52	13.4	23.1	18	5.6	22.2	40	2.5	70.0	15	0.0	46.7
Not Low	Poor	Poor	Low	70	40.0	14.3	62	32.3	22.6	153	30.1	32.7	102	24.5	24.5
Low	Good	Poor	Low	106	33.0	7.5	146	34.3	8.9	53	24.5	24.5	69	28.9	14.4
Low	Poor	Good	Low	33	48.5	12.2	19	26.4	10.6	24	54.1	8.3	24	54.2	8.3
Low	Poor	Poor	Not Low	248	24.6	16.1	444	22.5	19.8	180	18.3	33.9	203	13.8	16.3
Low	Poor	Poor	Low	220	41.9	7.8	294	42.5	9.5	195	43.1	10.8	175	32.5	16.6

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[1] "High" refers to at least one parent having gone to college; "Not High" refers to neither parent having gone to college; "Not Low" refers to at least one parent having graduated from high school; and "low" refers to neither parent having graduated from high school.

Table XI-6

Educational Plans, Education of Parents, and Influence of Siblings, Friends, and Teachers, by Race and Sex

	Score on Educational Plans Index											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
Composite Index Score[1]		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
8 (Positive on all variables)	21	4.8	90.5	27	11.1	59.3	54	1.8	94.7	91	2.2	81.3
7	109	3.7	64.2	134	2.2	61.2	218	0.9	87.6	257	2.3	82.1
6	262	6.1	49.2	339	5.0	44.2	335	4.8	75.2	421	3.1	65.3
3-5	1789	18.6	20.5	2623	13.8	20.4	1405	17.6	36.8	1363	15.3	22.3
2	226	37.6	5.8	294	32.3	7.5	151	47.7	9.9	121	39.7	5.8
1	59	54.2	6.8	92	50.0	3.3	39	48.7	7.7	25	52.0	4.0
0 (Negative on all variables)	6	(0.0)	(0.0)	12	41.7	8.3	5	(80.0)	(0.0)	3	(100.0)	(0.0)
Independent Variables[1]												
All factors positive	21	4.8	90.5	27	11.1	59.3	57	1.8	94.7	91	2.2	81.3
All factors positive, except relations with teachers	7	(14.3)	(85.7)	8	(12.5)	(62.5)	43	4.7	86.0	30	3.3	90.0
All factors positive, except friends' educational plans	37	8.1	54.1	27	7.4	55.6	40	0.0	85.0	28	7.1	60.7
All factors positive, except siblings' education	44	0.0	75.0	66	0.0	60.6	113	0.9	87.6	155	1.9	87.7
All factors positive, except parents' education	67	3.0	56.7	103	1.0	54.4	50	4.0	86.0	82	1.2	74.4
All factors negative, except parents' education	2	(100.0)	(0.0)	0	--	--	0	--	--	0	--	--
All factors negative, except siblings' education	31	54.8	9.7	27	48.1	3.7	17	58.8	11.8	4	(75.0)	(0.0)
All factors negative except friends' educational plans	26	53.8	3.8	53	43.4	3.8	12	33.3	8.3	17	35.3	11.8
All factors negative, except relations with teachers	36	38.9	5.6	56	44.6	5.4	18	44.4	5.6	17	64.7	0.0
All factors negative	6	(0.0)	(0.0)	12	41.7	8.3	5	(80.0)	(0.0)	3	(100.0)	(0.0)

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[1] See text for explanation of categories.

Table XI-7

Educational Plans, Parental Support for Education, and Influence of Siblings, Friends, and Teachers, by Race and Sex

	Score on Educational Plans Index											
	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Composite Index Score[1]	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
8 (Positive on all variables)	70	0.0	64.3	104	1.0	54.8	39	0.0	94.8	71	0.0	83.1
7	340	7.3	43.1	580	2.4	37.8	227	2.6	81.5	291	2.1	71.5
6	633	9.0	31.6	1100	8.5	26.6	416	3.8	68.3	532	4.5	50.8
3-5	1903	22.9	17.6	2425	19.9	15.6	1494	19.0	34.8	1420	17.4	21.8
2	176	46.0	4.5	216	46.3	4.2	154	52.6	9.7	91	50.5	4.4
1	47	61.7	4.3	50	62.0	2.0	30	63.3	3.3	19	68.4	5.3
0 (Negative on all variables)	9	(44.4)	(0.0)	8	(50.0)	(0.0)	4	(50.0)	(0.0)	3	(100.0)	(0.0)
Independent Variables[1]												
All factors positive	70	0.0	64.3	104	1.0	54.8	39	0.0	94.8	71	0.0	83.1
All factors positive, except relations with teachers	16	12.5	62.5	31	3.2	32.3	27	3.7	88.9	12	0.0	66.7
All factors positive, except friends' educational plans	119	9.2	41.2	159	3.1	40.3	32	3.1	78.1	41	7.3	48.8
All factors positive, except siblings' education	207	5.8	38.6	432	2.5	34.7	122	1.6	78.7	170	0.6	77.1
All factors positive, except parental support for education	31	9.7	61.3	41	4.9	43.9	64	4.7	85.9	88	4.5	69.3
All factors negative, except parental support for education	3	(33.3)	(0.0)	8	(50.0)	(12.5)	2	(100.0	(0.0)	1	(100.0)	(0.0)
All factors negative, except siblings' education	26	73.1	0.0	19	52.6	0.0	14	71.4	7.1	5	(80.0)	(0.0)
All factors negative, except friends' educational plans	16	43.8	12.5	24	54.2	0.0	8	(50.0)	(0.0)	10	50.0	10.0
All factors negative, except relations with teachers	19	52.6	0.0	30	46.7	3.3	16	56.3	0.0	13	76.9	0.0
All factors negative	9	(44.4)	(0.0)	8	(50.0)	(0.0)	4	(50.0)	(0.0)	3	(100.0)	(0.0)

[1] See text for explanation of categories.

Table XI-8

Educational Plans, Material Possessions, and Value of Effort, by Race and Sex

		Score on Educational Plans Index											
		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Material Possessions	Value of Effort[1]	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	High	180	8.9	40.0	232	6.0	44.8	460	10.2	59.4	549	6.2	53.3
High	Medium	246	12.6	43.5	280	8.6	43.9	587	11.2	59.4	566	9.7	44.8
High	Low	215	14.4	38.6	206	11.2	34.9	371	16.8	48.2	331	14.8	42.6
Medium	High	164	10.9	36.6	222	7.3	27.9	135	12.6	40.7	186	12.4	31.2
Medium	Medium	230	20.4	25.7	298	12.8	28.5	176	21.6	27.8	219	11.0	32.0
Medium	Low	177	22.1	25.4	248	19.3	19.3	126	23.8	30.1	102	16.6	19.6
Low	High	351	16.5	22.2	640	12.5	20.6	88	25.0	18.1	152	17.8	14.5
Low	Medium	550	19.3	17.1	918	18.3	15.2	167	30.6	18.0	187	25.7	13.4
Low	Low	462	24.9	12.1	916	23.2	12.7	98	40.8	8.2	146	34.3	6.2

[1] "High" refers to an index score of 3 - 4; "medium" refers to an index score of 2; "low" refers to an index score of 0 - 1.

CHAPTER XII

THE SCHOOL CONTEXT

There remains for us to discuss one set of conditions to which students are exposed and which may help to explain inconsistencies in the effects of other variables on educational planning. We refer, most broadly, to the school context in which the respondent finds himself.

In previous chapters, we have extracted certain features of the child's personal relationship to the school environment in order to see how these features may have influenced planning. For example, relations with teachers, characteristics of and status among friends, school grades, and academic commitment have all served as independent variables.

But now we want to look at a few general or predominant features of the school and of its population taken collectively to learn whether certain types of schools have students who tend to be more, or less, ambitious than one would expect them to be on the basis of their own individual characteristics. Sometimes, students in relatively favorable circumstances are isolated in schools where they are a small minority. Their "natural" tendencies towards high educational goals may be muted by the prevailing atmosphere of disadvantage found in the school. This may explain some of the racial difference in educational plans often found when we have compared whites and Negroes with personal and environmental characteristics most closely associated with high ambition. Or, the "advantaged" but isolated student may find support -- either from a small group of friends or from other referents -- for a strong reaction to the overall school context, with the result that ambition is even reinforced.

At this point, we will examine only a few of the school context variables that might be important modifiers of the relationships between plans and individual characteristics of respondents, to get some notion of the utility of this type of variable. We use three kinds of measures: (1) family economic background of students, (2) residential background of students, and (3) typical sentiments of students about their future education.

Family Economic Level

The major dimension used here to characterize the school population as a whole is that of socioeconomic status, as indexed by the level of material possessions that prevails in the typical student's home.

In Tables XII-1-10, we see that the social class level of a school often, but not always, does seem to make a difference in the degree of ambition displayed by various types of students. Schools were classified into four categories, according to the percentage of students reporting at least five (of six listed) possessions in their homes. In Table XII-1, it can be seen that variations in the school level of material possessions have little effect on the relationship between individual MP level and educational plans. Comparing only the top two school levels, there is some tendency for the low status student to be more likely to consider dropping out of school when he is in the small minority in a high status school -- these are the students who probably experience the greatest degree of exclusion from the dominant peer group. On the other hand, the status differential seems to have little bearing on college planning. Among Negro students in the lowest level schools, college planning is more prevalent for the high MP students when they are in the smallest minority -- the number of cases is small but the differences are fairly substantial.

In general, however, it is clear that it is the individual economic level of the student rather than the school level that has the greatest effect on his school plans. Since the school level was derived from the scores of students in each school, there is a high degree of relationship between individual and school levels, but considerable variation remains within school.

The following nine tables relate school economic level (MP) to educational plans in conjunction with other variables previously examined in this report. In each of these tables, there is evidence that students in higher-economic-level schools tend to have more ambitious plans. In 36 comparisons (four race-sex subgroups for nine tables) using the other "independent" variables as controls, we find dropout potential decreasing fairly consistently as the school MP level rises and rate of college planning increasing even more consistently for most "control" categories. While less variation in economic level is observed in the white schools (all in the two highest MP levels), the relationship between school economic context and plans appears somewhat stronger for white students than for Negroes.

Contrary to what had been anticipated, there is almost no evidence that a low-ranking student in a high status school has his ambitions depressed by his relatively unfavorable position -- there is more evidence for the reverse. On the other hand, the findings indicate that the ambitions of the high-ranking student are higher if he is in a school where he receives most support for his own ability and aspiration level. The greatest differences in plans for the various control variables are found among students in the highest level schools.

Residential Background of Students

Do the determinants of educational plans differ in schools dominated by urban, as compared to rural, students? The answer seems to be "to some degree" if we look at Tables XII-11-14. We shall just briefly summarize the findings of each table.

Among whites, at least, there seems to be a tendency for urbanites to be somewhat more college-oriented if they predominate in a school (Table XII-11). Farm children, on the other hand, seem somewhat less likely to plan on college if their schoolmates are mainly other farm residences. The dropout tendency shows no interpretable pattern for whites in Table XII-11, but the weak overall impression obtained from the table is that when urban and non-farm students predominate in a school, educational goals are likely to be higher for white boys and girls, whatever their own residential background might be. This impression does not seem to hold for Negro farm youth, however. They seem no less likely to have college intentions if they go to school mainly with other farm children; in fact, the males may be somewhat better off than if their schoolmates are mainly from the towns or from other non-farm residences.

Material possessions continues to be highly related to the level of educational planning, even when we control for the predominant type of residence of students in a school (Table XII-12). But comparing control categories, we find that children with a maximum number of material possessions in the home are somewhat more likely to have college plans if they attend school in a farm community -- here, more than in any other type of school, the relatively affluent student is apparently in an elite position, which makes college-going fairly likely. On the other hand, the low MP student in a farming-community school seems slightly less often oriented towards college than the low MP student in urban or other non-farm school contexts. What Table XII-12 indicates, then, is that in farming communities social class best differentiates those with high probability of planning to go to college from those whose probability is low. We need to note that this is less clearly true for Negro females, but this may be due to the small number of high MP Negro girls in our sample who go to farm-based schools.

There seem to be two points worth noting about the effects of parental support for education, when predominant residence of students is also considered (Table XII-13). First, the percentage of potential dropouts is especially high among those with low PSE in schools where most students live on farms. For example, this percentage is 55.0 for Negro males, as compared to just about 37 percent for those with low parental support in non-farm-based schools. Residential background of students has essentially no effect on the likelihood of dropout inclinations among those with high PSE.

Second, among whites only, there is a definite progression of more frequent college planning for those with low PSE as we shift from farm-based to urban-centered schools. The pattern is not clearly seen for those with high parental support, although high PSE white girls from farm-based schools are also relatively low on college planning, as compared to white girls from other school residential contexts.

In general, the predominant residence of students seems to have its greatest impact on the association of academic commitment with educational plans (Table XII-14), among those relationships examined in this chapter. Given that a student is high or low on commitment, his chances of being a college planner are consistently greatest if he attends a school with mostly urban children, and these chances are relatively low if the student body comes mainly from farms. Moreover, among those with low AC, dropout potential is usually high in farm-bred schools and relatively low where students are from urban areas. This is also true for Negroes with high commitment, but among high-AC whites, the urban-rural school context distinction seems to have no impact on dropout potential -- it is between 3.0 and 7.8 percent in all cases.

Thus, we find that the predominant residence of students appears to have varying, but at best moderate, influence on relationships noted earlier between educational planning and assorted independent variables. After ignoring a number of exceptions, we might conclude very tentatively that some slight to moderate advantage -- in elevated educational ambition -- is likely to occur for those who attend schools where students are predominately urban or at least not from farms. Of course, this may be more reflective of the quality of the schools than of the type of students who come into them.

Predominant Educational Goals of Students

The schools in our sample vary, of course, in the proportions of their students who plan to go on to college or who are inclined to drop out before graduation. The question arises as to whether these variations affect the usual relationships between educational planning and the independent variables of this study. It is quite conceivable that in schools where high ambition predominates, students who might otherwise not be planning for college will be swept along in the tide towards higher education. At the same time, persons whose own characteristics are most typically associated with at least high school graduation plans might not develop these plans in a school where dropping out is a fairly normal expectation.

Again, we shall explore these questions only superficially at this time -- enough simply to get an idea of whether a "snowball effect" does develop from the prevaling educational aspirations or plans of students in a school. It must also be noted at the start that any trends that do emerge could just as easily be attributed to other uncontrolled factors -- factors that help to make a school one of high or low ambition in the first place -- rather than to any "contagion" of particular educational goals in a school. Still, if there are discernible patterns, this may indicate that school context exercises differing degrees of influence on different types of students.

We divide schools into four categories according to the percentage of college planners in the student body. (The percentage is computed separately for each sex, but the cutting points remain the same for all race-sex groups.) On the dimension of potential dropout percentage, three categories of schools have been constructed.

Tables XII-15-22 show some effect from "school context," but the influence never matches that of the independent variables: social class (MP), parental support for education, academic commitment, and friends' future school plans. These last variables generally continue with undiminished strength as successful predictors of respondents' plans, even when we control for the level of educational goals that predominates in a given school.

Thus, we see in Tables XII-15 and 16 that a high material possessions score is consistently associated with higher educational ambition, regardless of how prevalent dropout or college-going intentions are in the school. In fact, we find few really striking differences in the percentage of college planners for a particular MP level when the school context varies. For example, about a third of the Negro girls with maximum MP scores have strong college intentions, whether they are in schools where such intentions are fairly common or relatively infrequent (Table XII-15).

It is true, though, that among those with _low_ MP, college planning does tend to rise in frequency as the proportion with college plans in a school increases. This pattern, while not overly strong, is found for all race-sex groups. It suggests that those with low socioeconomic status may definitely benefit from being in a school environment where college-going is more or less the normal expectation. Except among white females, the college-planning rate for those with _high_ MP does not change much, even when the proportion with such plans in a school changes.

We see in Table XII-16 that the likelihood of possibly not graduating is somewhat more strongly related to the potential dropout rate of a school. Except among low MP white males, there is a definite tendency for students of a given socioeconomic level to vary in dropout proneness, according to the overall prevalence in a school of inclinations to drop out.

Let us turn briefly now to the three other independent variables examined in conjunction with school planning norms in Tables XII-17-22. College planning seems to vary more for those with weak parental support for education, when the college-planning rate of a school varies (Table XII-17) -- a finding similar to that of greater effect of school norms on those with low MP. Likewise, it seems that the probability of dropping out may be more dependent on the prevailing situation at school for those with low PSE, as compared to those with high PSE (Table XII-18). The latter seem relatively immune to early school-leaving tendencies, regardless of what most of their schoolmates are considering.

School context effects are nearly always present, but the factor of academic commitment remains of greater significance in Tables XII-19-20. Even in schools where the proportion of college planners is lowest, those with high academic commitment count a higher percentage with college intentions than we find for those with low AC in the most college-oriented high schools. Conversely, serious consideration of dropping out is never so frequent among those with high AC as it is among those with low AC, even in low-dropout-potential schools. Nevertheless, it is certainly true that for a given level of commitment, the college planning likelihood does increase as such planning becomes more of a school norm. The dropout potential is increased for students of a given commitment level if they attend high-dropout-risk schools.

Finally, similar results are found when friends' educational plans is the independent variable used along with the control variable of educational planning norm in the school (Tables XII-21-22). It is still generally true that the level of respondents' educational goals is likely to be higher when friends are viewed as more ambitious -- regardless of the school norm for planning. But one can also note, to a lesser degree, a consistent pattern in the variation in plans, according to what the school norms are. Even if most friends plan to go to college, respondents are relatively less likely to have such plans if the student body is especially low in percentage oriented towards college. For whites, at least, the trend moves all the way through the various categories of schools, with college planning increasing as general student norms become more favorable towards college, controlling, of course, for the type of plans one's friends have. In Table XII-22, we see essentially the same picture for schools with varying dropout potentials. For a given level of friends' plans, the likelihood of being a potential dropout increases steadily as the school's students become, collectively, more dropout prone. For whites, this tendency appears greatest for those whose close friends are inclined towards dropping out, but for Negroes, the pattern is equally noteworthy for those having friends with different levels of future educational plans.

Summary

The data in this chapter indicate that the "school context" may contribute something to the determination of students' educational plans above and beyond what is brought into the situation by factors more immediate and personal to the individual student. Without greater controlling than we have used here, our findings can be only suggestive. They point, in general, to some raising of ambition when the predominating educational goals of students in a school are relatively high. Also, planning levels tend to rise, especially for already "advantaged" children, when students in the school generally are of fairly high socioeconomic status. And urban-based schools seem to add something to the level of ambition of students, except that high socioeconomic status respondents tend to be even more ambitious if they are among an elite group in farm-based schools.

For some proportion of students, stimulation from the "school context" may help to develop higher levels of ambition than would be likely to occur from other influences alone. Of course, practical considerations may require some division of students into separate curricula or "tracks." But there is still much room for arranging enrollments in schools, in many courses, and in extra-curricular activities so that all students are exposed to as large a number of positive "school context" conditions as possible. We have just sampled inadequately from the kinds of conditions that may be most important. A more complete analysis -- incorporating the effects of particular school offerings, the social status structure within the student body, and many other within-school and community conditions -- might indicate the most crucial ways in which "school context" should be considered in programs to raise the educational horizons of students.

Table XII-1

Educational Plans, Respondent's Material Possessions, and Material Possessions Level of Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context: Material Possessions Level of Student Population	Material Possessions	Score on Educational Plans Index											
		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	High	165	15.2	30.3	191	7.9	35.6	1443	12.9	47.9	1342	9.5	43.1
	Low	81	33.3	12.3	73	23.3	8.2	245	41.2	11.0	310	28.4	11.0
Upper Middle	High	507	14.0	32.9	468	8.5	36.8	189	14.3	50.3	183	9.3	44.3
	Low	731	24.5	12.0	956	20.5	12.4	181	29.8	8.8	222	27.0	6.8
Lower Middle	High	103	9.7	30.1	97	11.3	38.1	---			---		
	Low	562	23.6	10.3	770	19.1	12.5	---			---		
Low	High	42	19.0	47.6	46	4.3	45.7	---			---		
	Low	858	28.4	10.7	1318	20.0	11.9	---			---		

Table XII-2

Educational Plans, Mother's Education, and Material Possessions

Level of Student Population, by Race and Sex

		Score on Educational Plans Index											
School Context: Material Possessions Level of Student Population	Mother's Education	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	At least some college	39	15.4	41.0	41	7.3	63.4	323	6.2	73.7	328	3.4	78.0
	Some high school	182	20.3	22.0	189	11.6	29.6	1066	14.6	42.2	937	9.7	37.2
	Less than high school	44	25.0	18.2	76	13.2	11.8	474	25.5	20.7	529	18.5	14.2
Upper Middle	At least some college	126	8.0	57.1	111	4.5	55.9	65	3.1	67.7	55	1.8	72.7
	Some high school	682	18.2	21.3	694	13.4	22.8	229	21.0	28.0	274	15.3	30.7
	Less than high school	537	22.3	14.5	698	18.2	15.0	139	25.9	11.5	183	24.0	6.0
Lower Middle	At least some college	41	9.8	51.2	46	2.2	50.0	---			---		
	Some high school	299	19.4	17.4	348	14.1	21.0	---			---		
	Less than high school	320	25.6	8.1	406	20.7	13.1	---			---		
Low	At least some college	65	16.9	47.7	58	13.8	44.8	---			---		
	Some high school	297	22.2	14.8	430	13.3	17.2	---			---		
	Less than high school	453	31.8	8.8	757	21.4	9.9	---			---		

Table XII-3

Educational Plans, Academic Commitment, and Material Possessions

Level of Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context: Material Possessions Level of Student Population	Academic Commitment	Score on Educational Plans Index											
		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	High	71	5.6	43.7	129	5.4	36.4	316	5.0	68.0	653	4.9	51.8
	Low	100	42.0	8.0	69	36.2	5.8	764	30.6	19.1	382	31.7	15.7
Upper Middle	High	627	11.2	29.7	930	6.6	25.2	73	2.7	52.1	183	4.9	41.0
	Low	264	42.0	9.1	180	49.4	7.2	177	40.7	10.2	77	48.0	3.9
Lower Middle	High	349	12.0	19.5	597	8.4	22.3	---			---		
	Low	142	54.9	6.3	85	52.9	9.4	---			---		
Low	High	485	17.3	16.5	983	12.0	18.3	---			---		
	Low	134	62.2	3.7	78	53.8	0.0	---			---		

Table XII-4

Educational Plans, Family Stability, and Material Possessions

Level of Student Population, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

School Context: Material Possessions Level of Student Population	Family Stability	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	Unbroken	216	20.4	25.9	236	10.2	31.8	1766	16.2	42.7	1669	10.5	38.6
	Broken	141	25.5	18.4	178	18.5	16.3	388	19.6	28.4	407	18.7	22.6
Upper Middle	Unbroken	943	18.3	23.9	1055	14.2	22.9	412	19.9	28.9	483	16.8	26.5
	Broken	877	22.7	17.0	936	17.6	16.9	95	25.3	18.9	87	19.5	11.5
Lower Middle	Unbroken	525	20.0	15.4	645	16.6	18.8	---			---		
	Broken	417	25.4	13.4	479	17.7	13.6	---			---		
Low	Unbroken	650	27.2	14.6	1027	17.6	14.3	---			---		
	Broken	506	30.4	11.3	646	22.3	12.4	---			---		

Table XII-5

Educational Plans, Parental Support for Education, and Material Possessions Level of Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context: Material Possessions Level of Student Population	Parental Support for Education	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		Score on Educational Plans Index											
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	High	77	11.7	42.9	121	4.1	37.2	467	5.1	60.8	489	3.5	54.4
	Low	114	34.2	8.8	91	26.4	8.8	589	32.6	17.7	495	26.7	18.2
Upper Middle	High	633	11.4	30.2	862	7.7	25.3	113	2.7	59.3	148	6.1	37.2
	Low	411	38.0	7.5	364	33.8	9.9	149	38.3	9.4	132	35.6	11.4
Lower Middle	High	291	10.3	21.6	462	7.4	24.5	---			---		
	Low	242	39.7	6.2	200	38.5	3.5	---			---		
Low	High	377	15.4	21.0	709	9.6	21.2	---			---		
	Low	289	49.8	4.8	304	40.1	5.3	---			---		

Table XII-6

Educational Plans, Relations with Teachers, and Material Possessions Level of Student Population, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

School Context: Material Possessions Level of Student Population	Relations with Teachers	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	Very Well	148	13.5	31.1	263	9.5	30.0	1028	11.9	46.1	1391	8.8	40.7
	Not Well	60	40.2	10.0	38	34.2	7.9	272	33.1	30.5	108	32.4	13.9
Upper Middle	Very Well	1146	16.7	23.0	1295	10.3	23.5	273	13.9	32.2	383	11.7	27.4
	Not Well	219	29.2	14.2	251	30.3	10.4	47	44.7	2.1	28	39.3	10.7
Lower Middle	Very Well	636	17.8	15.7	761	13.4	18.9	--			--		
	Not Well	102	40.2	11.8	134	24.6	9.0	--			--		
Low	Very Well	838	24.0	15.0	1247	16.9	14.7	--			--		
	Not Well	100	51.0	8.0	150	35.3	8.7	--			--		

Table XII-7

Educational Plans, Friends' School Effort, and Material Possessions Level of Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context: Material Possessions Level of Student Population	Friends' School Effort	Score on Educational Plans Index											
		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	Not very much	10	40.0	0.0	7	(34.3)	(28.6)	74	29.7	21.6	35	45.7	8.6
	Try a little	66	31.8	15.2	35	22.9	11.4	417	23.5	29.5	208	26.9	17.8
	Try hard	249	17.7	25.3	353	12.2	26.6	1531	13.8	45.2	1813	9.8	38.3
Upper Middle	Not very much	56	32.1	17.9	45	31.1	8.9	10	30.0	20.0	8	(50.0)	(0.0)
	Try a little	245	26.9	15.1	161	28.0	16.1	103	37.9	12.6	38	39.5	0.0
	Try hard	1271	16.8	22.6	1694	13.4	20.8	366	15.8	31.7	520	15.2	26.5
Lower Middle	Not very much	28	42.9	14.3	23	43.5	0.0	--			--		
	Try a little	117	29.9	12.0	83	28.9	8.4	--			--		
	Try hard	608	15.3	16.3	955	14.5	18.3	--			--		
Low	Not very much	58	56.9	3.4	31	29.0	3.2	--			--		
	Try a little	95	41.1	7.4	100	34.0	14.0	--			--		
	Try hard	759	22.0	16.2	1404	16.9	14.7	--			--		

Table XII-8

Educational Plans of both Respondent and Friends and

Material Possessions Level of Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context: Material Possessions Level of Student Population	Friends' Educ. Plans	Score on Educational Plans Index											
		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	Most will drop out	32	43.8	0.0	26	46.2	0.0	127	52.8	7.1	84	63.1	0.0
	Neither drop nor college	236	21.2	20.3	278	12.2	18.3	1296	18.0	30.6	1261	13.2	19.7
	Most to college	51	5.9	49.0	91	7.7	53.8	602	4.8	71.8	702	4.0	69.2
Upper Middle	Most will drop out	157	42.0	7.0	127	42.5	3.1	33	54.5	6.1	17	70.6	0.0
	Neither drop nor college	1029	18.7	18.2	1195	15.8	17.2	346	22.0	21.7	398	20.1	13.3
	Most to college	338	7.4	37.9	561	6.1	30.8	95	3.2	60.0	151	4.6	55.6
Lower Middle	Most will drop out	82	43.9	9.8	75	38.7	2.7	--			--		
	Neither drop nor college	502	15.5	13.7	718	17.3	13.1	--			--		
	Most to college	128	10.9	25.8	253	6.3	33.6	--			--		
Low	Most will drop out	153	46.4	6.5	137	40.9	7.3	--			--		
	Neither drop nor college	576	22.7	12.5	1041	17.2	12.8	--			--		
	Most to college	147	16.3	31.3	325	12.3	24.0	--			--		

Table XII-9

Educational Plans, Self-Confidence, and

Material Possessions Level of Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context: Material Possessions Level of Population	Self-Confidence	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		Score on Educational Plans Index											
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	Always or most of time	262	21.0	25.6	318	11.0	28.9	1654	13.9	44.1	1710	9.8	38.5
	Not often or seldom	42	26.2	7.1	63	22.2	11.1	222	33.3	18.9	280	25.4	21.4
Upper Middle	Always or most of time	1208	17.0	23.5	1479	12.9	23.0	414	18.8	29.7	489	15.3	25.6
	Not often or seldom	160	30.0	10.6	272	25.0	8.8	50	48.0	10.0	63	33.3	11.1
Lower Middle	Always or most of time	501	16.6	16.6	787	13.9	18.0	--			--		
	Not often or seldom	77	31.2	9.1	134	29.1	8.2	--			--		
Low	Always or most of time	624	21.6	17.0	1125	15.7	16.8	--			--		
	Not often or seldom	99	45.5	6.1	193	33.2	9.3	--			--		

Table XII-10

Educational Plans, Value of Effort, and Material Possessions Level of Student Population, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

School Context: Material Possessions Level of Student Population	Value of Effort	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	High	82	7.3	29.3	93	6.5	30.1	579	12.8	45.9	721	8.6	40.4
	Low	104	30.8	18.3	111	20.7	21.6	514	19.8	34.8	469	17.5	30.7
Upper Middle	High	381	13.9	26.2	514	10.7	23.7	136	14.0	36.8	198	11.6	30.3
	Low	406	21.4	20.4	530	20.2	17.4	122	29.5	17.2	134	28.4	11.9
Lower Middle	High	142	11.3	19.0	260	10.4	22.7	--			--		
	Low	188	19.7	11.2	309	19.1	12.0	--			--		
Low	High	156	17.3	21.2	296	11.5	22.6	--			--		
	Low	258	26.7	14.0	547	21.8	11.5	--			--		

Table XII-11

Educational Plans, Respondent's Place of Residence, and Predominant Residence Type in Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context:		Score on Educational Plans Index											
		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Predominant Residence Type	Place of Residence	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Urban	Urban	1835	19.6	21.5	2074	14.5	21.7	1103	14.3	44.0	1121	12.0	37.8
	Non-urban, non-farm	255	26.7	11.8	265	17.4	16.6	169	18.3	35.5	122	6.6	39.3
	Farm	136	27.2	9.6	135	22.2	15.6	52	15.4	32.7	32	6.3	50.0
Non-urban, non-farm	Urban	176	21.6	25.0	194	18.6	13.4	97	17.5	34.0	131	9.9	23.7
	Non-urban, non-farm	514	23.3	15.0	675	17.9	14.1	296	17.9	39.9	309	11.7	35.6
	Farm	254	22.4	9.8	295	16.9	10.8	119	15.1	37.0	102	14.7	35.3
Farm	Urban	22	31.8	4.5	29	6.9	17.2	--			--		
	Non-urban, non-farm	119	34.5	11.8	179	25.1	10.1	241	17.8	38.2	233	16.3	33.9
	Farm	388	29.6	15.2	539	20.6	13.9	416	24.3	27.6	407	18.4	22.6

Table XII-12

Educational Plans, Material Possessions,

and Predominant Residence Type in Student Population, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

School Context:		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Predominant Residence Type	Material Possessions	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Urban	High	625	13.8	32.3	598	8.4	36.6	978	12.0	47.9	903	9.1	44.0
	Low	951	25.0	11.6	1189	19.6	13.5	105	43.8	13.3	140	28.6	12.1
Non-urban, non-farm	High	117	15.4	30.8	90	10.0	44.4	319	13.8	47.0	313	9.9	41.2
	Low	559	22.0	11.4	807	19.2	9.2	77	36.4	13.0	103	24.3	11.7
Farm	High	22	18.2	54.5	22	4.5	40.9	272	14.3	52.2	250	10.8	45.6
	Low	391	31.7	9.7	621	22.1	11.4	188	33.5	8.5	212	28.8	6.6

Table XII-13

Educational Plans, Parental Support for Education, and Predominant Residence Type in Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context: Predominant Residence Type	Parental Support for Education	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Urban	High	731	11.5	29.5	1038	7.2	27.4	293	4.8	62.8	293	3.4	54.6
	Low	542	36.9	7.2	445	31.9	7.9	359	30.4	21.4	292	24.7	22.3
Non-urban, non-farm	High	298	11.1	24.5	507	9.5	17.9	110	4.5	54.5	132	4.5	57.6
	Low	227	37.4	4.8	202	36.6	6.4	136	30.1	14.7	138	23.2	15.2
Farm	High	179	14.0	23.5	280	8.9	22.5	137	5.1	65.7	152	3.9	43.4
	Low	140	55.0	5.0	165	43.0	5.5	199	42.7	10.1	154	38.3	11.0

Score on Educational Plans Index

Table XII-14

Educational Plans, Academic Commitment, and

Predominant Residence Type in Student Population, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

School Context:		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Predominant Residence Type	Academic Commitment	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
Urban	High (7-9)	755	11.5	27.7	1160	7.2	26.4	199	4.5	72.9	400	4.8	56.8
	Low (0-3)	377	44.0	9.0	252	44.8	7.1	450	29.3	19.6	238	30.3	15.5
Non-urban, non-farm	High	349	12.3	20.6	639	9.7	17.5	64	7.8	60.9	173	5.2	44.5
	Low	141	53.2	7.1	73	56.2	4.1	205	26.3	21.5	92	27.2	19.6
Farm	High	214	15.9	16.8	416	13.0	17.8	100	3.0	56.0	215	4.2	40.0
	Low	57	64.9	1.8	47	53.2	0.0	237	41.4	12.2	98	49.0	6.1

Table XII-15

Educational Plans, Material Possessions, and Level of College Planning in Student Population, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

School Context: Level of College Planning	Material Possessions	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	High	--			--			1284	12.0	40.8	241	7.9	58.5
	Low	--			--			168	39.9	13.1	99	20.2	17.2
Upper Middle	High	158	12.0	36.1	25	12.0	32.0	311	16.1	51.1	972	9.4	43.4
	Low	224	25.9	17.9	66	21.2	19.8	208	35.1	8.6	233	30.5	7.7
Lower Middle	High	418	14.4	33.5	632	7.9	37.2	--			299	11.0	32.1
	Low	669	25.1	14.5	1360	19.6	15.2	--			176	29.5	7.4
Low	High	241	14.5	29.5	145	10.3	37.9	37	24.3	35.1	13	7.7	7.7
	Low	1339	26.7	8.3	1691	20.2	9.4	50	30.0	6.0	24	20.8	4.2

Table XII-16

Educational Plans, Material Possessions, and Level of Dropout Potential in Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context:		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		Score on Educational Plans Index											
Level of Dropout Potential	Material Possessions	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	High	14	35.7	28.6	--			50	32.0	42.0	--		
	Low	393	34.9	11.7	--			42	38.1	9.5	--		
Medium	High	761	14.1	32.7	500	9.6	36.8	662	14.0	49.2	352	12.5	39.2
	Low	1578	25.9	11.3	2698	20.7	12.2	271	38.4	8.5	272	30.9	7.7
Low	High	42	4.8	35.7	302	6.6	37.7	920	11.3	47.7	1173	8.5	44.5
	Low	261	14.6	9.2	419	15.5	11.5	113	31.0	14.2	260	24.6	10.8

Table XII-17

Educational Plans, Parental Support for Education, and Level of College Planning in Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context:		Score on Educational Plans Index											
	Parental Support for Education	Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Level of College Planners		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	High	--			--			391	4.6	60.6	148	3.4	64.2
	Low	--			--			477	28.7	20.1	98	23.5	24.5
Upper Middle	High	217	13.8	28.6	48	8.3	29.2	158	5.1	65.2	345	3.5	49.6
	Low	117	38.5	11.1	20	25.0	30.0	226	44.7	9.7	352	29.6	17.9
Lower Middle	High	468	11.3	34.8	1039	16.6	19.8	--			124	5.6	42.7
	Low	411	37.0	8.0	484	33.7	8.5	--			166	28.9	10.8
Low	High	693	12.4	20.3	957	8.5	19.0	31	3.2	35.5	20	10.0	10.0
	Low	528	45.1	4.5	455	39.1	4.4	35	31.4	0.0	11	36.4	0.0

Table XII-18

Educational Plans, Parental Support for Education, and Level of Dropout Potential in Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context:		Score on Educational Plans Index											
		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Level of Dropout Potential	Parental Support for Education	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	High	166	19.3	22.9	--			31	3.2	54.8	--		
	Low	154	59.7	4.5	--			38	57.8	5.8	--		
Medium	High	1049	12.1	27.8	1749	8.7	23.0	282	5.3	59.6	228	5.2	42.1
	Low	821	39.6	7.6	774	39.1	6.7	350	39.4	12.3	200	39.0	9.5
Low	High	163	6.1	22.1	405	5.2	30.4	267	4.1	62.2	409	3.4	55.0
	Low	81	22.2	1.2	185	23.2	8.1	350	26.0	20.9	427	23.7	20.1

Table XII-19

Educational Plans, Academic Commitment, and

Level of College Planning in Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context: Level of College Planning	Academic Commitment	Score on Educational Plans Index											
		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	High	--			--			251	4.8	70.1	157	4.5	54.7
	Low	--			--			645	28.1	20.6	90	23.3	26.7
Upper Middle	High	184	12.5	36.4	58	12.1	31.0	119	4.2	58.0	456	4.4	54.6
	Low	95	42.1	13.7	10	40.0	10.0	257	42.0	11.7	273	35.2	12.5
Lower Middle	High	508	11.0	30.9	1323	7.6	27.5	--			220	6.4	34.1
	Low	280	44.7	8.9	240	45.8	7.5	--			85	44.7	4.7
Low	High	840	14.4	16.8	1256	10.3	16.9	19	5.3	42.1	13	0.0	23.1
	Low	265	56.6	3.0	162	53.7	3.7	39	43.6	2.6	10	30.0	10.0

Table XII-20

Educational Plans, Academic Commitment, and Level of Dropout Potential in Student Population, by Race and Sex

School Context: Level of Dropout Potential	Academic Commitment	Score on Educational Plans Index											
		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	High	215	23.7	19.1	--			31	9.7	58.1	--		
	Low	72	69.4	2.8	--			34	55.9	2.9	--		
Medium	High	1116	11.9	26.4	2200	9.6	21.2	186	4.8	59.1	310	5.8	39.0
	Low	528	47.2	7.8	296	54.1	6.4	449	37.2	16.3	136	48.5	7.4
Low	High	201	8.0	14.4	437	5.5	29.3	172	3.5	72.7	536	4.3	54.1
	Low	40	40.0	7.5	116	35.3	5.2	458	26.2	19.7	323	28.5	16.4

Table XII-21

Educational Plans of both Respondent and Friends and Level of College Planning in Student Population, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

School Context:		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Level of College Planning	Friends' School Plans	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	Most will drop out	--			--			95	47.4	8.4	11	63.6	0.0
	Neither dropout nor college	--			--			1074	16.4	31.8	244	11.5	25.4
	Most to college	--			--			541	4.8	71.0	195	5.1	70.8
Upper Middle	Most will drop out	50	46.0	6.0	8	(37.5)	(0.0)	54	63.0	5.6	60	63.3	0.0
	Neither dropout nor college	308	19.2	26.0	71	14.1	28.2	476	23.5	24.6	935	14.4	19.4
	Most to college	107	3.7	38.3	33	12.1	27.3	143	4.2	69.9	496	3.6	69.8
Lower Middle	Most will drop out	137	37.2	8.0	182	42.3	3.3	--			27	66.7	0.0
	Neither dropout nor college	907	19.6	18.1	1666	15.4	18.1	--			435	17.7	12.4
	Most to college	280	9.6	42.1	743	8.1	36.9	--			155	4.5	54.8
Low	Most will drop out	237	47.7	6.3	175	40.6	5.7	11	54.5	0.0	3	(66.7)	(0.0)
	Neither dropout nor college	1127	19.0	11.6	1495	17.4	10.9	92	22.8	14.1	45	13.3	11.1
	Most to colllege	278	12.6	26.6	454	7.3	22.5	13	0.0	38.5	7	(0.0)	(14.3)

Table XII-22

Educational Plans of both Respondent and Friends and Level of Dropout Potential in Student Population, by Race and Sex

Score on Educational Plans Index

School Context:		Negro Males			Negro Females			White Males			White Females		
Level of Dropout Potential	Friends' Educational Plans	N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent		N	Percent	
			1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7		1-2	6-7
High	Most will drop	98	55.1	6.1	--			17	64.7	5.9	--		
	Neither drop nor college	230	25.2	14.8	--			89	28.1	21.3	--		
	Most to college	71	16.9	31.0	--			16	6.3	62.5	--		
Middle	Most will drop	292	42.8	7.2	307	41.7	3.9	81	56.8	7.4	45	75.6	0.0
	Neither drop nor college	1852	19.5	16.7	2558	17.6	14.2	793	21.8	27.4	590	19.8	16.8
	Most to college	535	9.7	35.7	982	8.8	29.4	289	5.2	67.8	213	4.2	55.4
Low	Most will drop	34	23.5	5.9	58	39.7	6.9	62	45.2	6.5	56	55.4	0.0
	Neither drop nor college	260	12.3	12.3	674	11.3	17.7	760	14.6	31.1	1069	12.1	19.0
	Most to college	59	3.4	33.9	248	4.4	38.7	392	4.1	72.2	640	4.1	70.6

CHAPTER XIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The source of ambition has been attributed to a number of factors. In the present study, we have attempted to document the relationship between many of these factors and one aspect of ambition -- that pertaining to the educational goals and plans of adolescents.

Our focus has been on high school students (grades 9-12) in the Southern United States, with particular attention paid to Negro youth. Altogether, nearly 16,000 boys and girls from 17 counties in four Southern states -- Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia -- were surveyed by means of a questionnaire. They were asked about the amount of education they expected to receive in the future and about other facets of their life that might help explain the level of their ambition. With additional information obtained from school records for many of the students, a detailed picture emerges of the background and future educational plans of a large segment of Southern youth.[1]

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[1] Our sample includes only students in attendance during the 1963-64 school year. Since the number of previous dropouts in any age group is not known, we cannot make accurate achievement estimates for any total cohort of students. However, our main interest has been in studying variables associated with educational plans, and earlier dropouts can be assumed to be predominately similar to those in the lowest aspirations categories in our analysis; their exclusion does not materially influence our relational conclusions. Further assurance in this regard is provided by finding that relationships are generally similar for all grade levels, regardless of differential loss by dropout.

Our data indicate that, in general, white high school students are considerably more likely than Negro students to have firm intentions about going to college. Over two-fifths of the white males and almost two-fifths of the white females in our sample state that they will attend college in the year after high school graduation, while this is true for only about 20 percent of the Negroes of either sex. In both races, there is another group of fewer than 10 percent of the males and five percent of the females who may attend college at a later date. At the other end of the plans continuum, dropping out before high school graduation is contemplated by almost one-fourth of the Negro boys, by about one-sixth of both white boys and Negro girls, and by about one in seven among the white girls.

Generally, the same factors are found in both races to be related to educational planning, although there are some differences in specific aspects of these relationships. We follow with a brief overview of the more noteworthy of these findings.

Not surprisingly, indexes of scholastic ability and academic commitment, as well as reported school grades, are strongly associated with level of ambition. The more able, more interested, and more successful student is much more likely to plan on finishing high school and to expect to go to college.

Several indexes of socioeconomic status display a strong relationship to planning. For example, among Negroes with a maximum number of 6 listed material possessions in their home, about 40 percent plan on college and 13.6 percent of the boys and 8.5 percent of the girls have some inclination to drop out. But among those with no more than 2 possessions, over one-fourth may drop out and only about 10 percent appear firm in their college intentions. A similar picture occurs for whites, except that college planning is somewhat more frequent in the highest SES group, and dropout tendencies show up somewhat more frequently in the lowest SES group. Indeed, a greater proportion of the racial difference in educational planning is accounted for by this variable of socioeconomic status than by any other single variable in our study.

The importance of parental influence is also evidenced in the results of this study.[2] Children whose parents manifest the greatest interest in and support for education are more likely to have relatively high levels of ambition. For whites, this means that the most encouraged children have a high likelihood of expecting to go to college. For Negroes, high school graduation is more often the ultimate goal for those receiving the greatest parental support, with the dropout potential increasing for those with less support. It is also true that children in the sample are more likely to plan for college and less likely to consider dropping out if they think of themselves as close, yet respectful, in relations with their parents and if their parents are seen as falling somewhere between the extremes of authoritarian and laissez faire when it comes to parent-child decision-making. Moreover, relatively lofty educational aims are more often found for those whose parents are reported as reasonable in their rules, clear in their expectations of the child, and happy in their marriage. In sum, the boy or girl who feels happy and secure psychologically and materially in his home life and who receives actual encouragement from his parents about academic matters is much more likely to be planning to obtain the larger measures of education increasingly required in our society.

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[2] These influences, of course, tend to reflect social class background to a large degree.

Other characteristics that tend to be associated with high levels of educational expectations are (1) having a small number of siblings, (2) having siblings and friends who are academically oriented, (3) belonging to a high-status friendship group at school and having high or secure status within this group, and (4) having good relations with one's teachers. Also, optimism about the future, confidence in oneself, and a faith in the value of effort in affecting one's fate are additional features that appear more often in the profile of the educationally ambitious student.

It is also true that boys and girls in our sample from rural areas and from broken homes tend not as often to plan for high levels of education. But when students from homes of equivalent socioeconomic status are compared, the urban-rural difference virtually disappears; in other words, the overall advantage for urban students may be due simply to the more frequent occurrence of poor economic conditions in rural life. And family intactness makes little difference in plans, once one controls for the degree of support for education received from the person or persons now fulfilling the parental role -- with encouragement, the child is relatively likely to have high goals, even if that encouragement does not come from both real parents.

Having measured the level of plans in our sample and having catalogued many of the key correlates of these plans, we must turn attention briefly to one of the original interests of this study -- a comparison of Negroes and whites in their academic goals. We have already noted that, overall, whites are quite a bit more likely to have college plans and slightly less likely to have serious thoughts about dropping out. Moreover, it usually appears that when some factor is associated with elevated educational goals, the association is with college planning for whites and, more typically, with firm intentions not to drop out of high school for Negroes. The percentage having college plans is equally low in both races and the rate of potential dropouts is sometimes even higher for whites among those at the "low" end of dimensions correlated with planning. But as we move towards the more advantaged end of the continuum (e.g., from low to high parental support for education, from poor to very good relations with teachers, etc.), the frequency of college planning tends to rise more sharply for whites, while the reduction in dropout-proneness is more nearly the same in both races.

A partial explanation for this may be found in the levels of education attained by parents of the students in our sample. The education reported for Negro parents is considerably less, on the average, than that reported for whites. In this situation, it is quite possible that high school graduation means the same to many Negroes as does college education for many whites -- a significant advance over the previous generation. To strive for this is, in itself, a mark of strong ambition.

In addition, our data suggest that the phenomenon of the "in" student -- one who is fully oriented towards total involvement in the educational system -- is much more common among whites. This is not because of any evidence of Negroes being "outcastes" in previously all-white schools, since in 1963-64, virtually total segregation still prevailed in the schools of the sample. The "in" student we refer to is one whose class background, parental influences, and relations with friends and teachers all serve to direct him into making the school and education a central focus of his life. Just looking at one factor at a time, we find Negroes generally heavily overrepresented at the "disadvantaged" end of dimensions correlated with educational planning.[3] The likelihood is much greater, then, for Negroes -- even when they are "high" on one dimension -- to be exposed to one or more other influences which will detract from total commitment to education. The goal of college is more difficult to sustain without this total commitment.[4]

Thus, we see Negroes both overrepresented in the groups that have relatively low ambition in both races and relatively less likely to plan for college even when they do enjoy advantaged status on some dimension correlated with ambition. We should note that the racial difference in the extent of expressed desire for a college education is not so great. But the crucial measure of actual planning for college indicates that Negro youth (at least in the communities sampled) will in the future be, like their parents, underrepresented in the ranks of the better educated. From these ranks will come the occupants of the jobs newly created by our current technological revolution. And poverty and unemployment are likely to continue to be more common among Negroes, with existing problems of race relations exascerbated by the continuing racial gap in educational preparedness for modern economic opportunities.[5]

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[3] For example, about 60 percent of the whites and only 20 percent of the Negroes claim possession in their homes of all six material objects listed in a socioeconomic status scale. The percentages are reversed for those reporting no more than four of these items in their homes.

[4] Our index of "academic commitment" really measures only interest in high school studies and not commitment to the educational system in its entirety, both socially and academically from public school through college.

But perhaps our findings do suggest means for ameliorating the situation -- so that the racial gap in ambition can be narrowed, and at the same time, more persons of both races can be moved to maximize their potential through more education. It is clear that higher goals are most easily developed when economic security prevails in the home and when a positive orientation towards education occurs among those persons belonging to the adolescent's system of referents. Various on-going and proposed welfare measures promise more material benefits for those least well off in our society. It is to be hoped that all of these programs will soon be in full operation and that they will be successful.

But it will require more personalized effort to insure that the reference systems of adolescents are conducive to high educational goals.

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[5] Educational aspiration level, with which we deal, is obviously only one of many important elements that affect the opportunities that will be available to an individual. Among other elements is the closely related one (also of special interest to educators) of possible differences in the quality of educational systems.

The burden for this falls on those adults who should be most concerned about the child's future -- his parents and his teachers. When the parents default, the teachers must bear an extra responsibility in encouraging the child to utilize his talents fully and in compensating for those negative influences which may be pulling the child in the opposite direction. While we have found some relationship between strong ambition and "getting along well" with teachers, it is not enough for most children to have friendly relations with their teachers. It is as important, we suggest, for instruction to be challenging -- not satisfied with effort below the capacity of the individual student -- but also understanding and rewarding. In this way, the child can see the possibilities and benefits of breaking away from those conditions and influences which might ordinarily shackle him to a future below his potential. Although our examination of school context effects in Chapter XII is too superficial to permit any major conclusions from it, we are convinced that the school environment is an important factor in determining the future plans of many youngsters and that it could play an even more important positive role, with more imaginative effort on the part of school personnel. Certainly an increase in the size of faculties, with a concomitant reduction in the pupil/teacher ratio, would seem an essential measure needed to permit instructors to give more individualized attention to their students.

In closing, we must acknowledge a bias on the part of the authors. We have tended to stress the importance of increasing the educational horizons of today's youth. This has led to an emphasis on factors that contribute to college planning or at least to intentions to finish high school. We have not meant to imply that everyone should go to college or even complete high school. Nor do we wish to derogate the potential contribution to our society from those with less than a complete secondary or college education. But it is a fact of the world today that more and more jobs are available only to those with high levels of training, and unskilled labor is becoming less in demand. For this reason, as well as to reduce the differences (and possible areas of conflict) between identifiable subgroups in the society, we must continue to devote special effort to raising the levels of educational expectations and goals of large numbers of boys and girls. Without this effort, many of the most desirable jobs of the future will go unfilled, while many of tomorrow's adults will be under- or unemployed -- not using the talents that could have been developed in them. This would not be "The Great Society."

APPENDIX A

YOUTH SURVEY

3716

are being asked to give us your help in a scientific study being done by the Institute for Research in Social Science at the ersity of North Carolina. Junior and senior high school students in several States are aiding us by filling out this question- e. Many of the questions deal with your interests and future plans; others have to do with people you know. We think you find the questions interesting to answer.

This is not a test, so there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. Any answer is the right answer if it is the **true** answer **for you.**

No one at this school will see your answers. Cover your own paper and do not try to look at anyone else's. When you finish, your questionnaire will be sealed in an envelope with others from your class and will be taken directly to the University of North Carolina. No one except research people working on this study will ever see your answers or know what you say. We will respect and protect your confidence completely.

Please answer every question, after reading it carefully. Check the answer that comes **closest** to what you think. If you come across a question that you simply cannot answer because it does not apply to you, put an "x" beside it and leave it blank.

Most of the questions require check-marks (√) to show your answer. Please be careful to **check between the lines,** so we can tell which answer you meant to check. Except where you are given other directions, you are to check only the **one answer which comes closest to what you want to say.**

What is the name of your school?

____

What grade are you in?

________1. 9th
________2. 10th
________3. 11th
________4. 12th

Your sex?

________1. Male
________2. Female

How old were you on your last birthday?

________years old

Are you living with:

________1. Both real parents
________2. Mother and stepfather
________3. Mother only
________4. Father and stepmother
________5. Father only
________6. Grandparents
________7. Other relatives
________8. None of these

All together, how many people are now living in your home?

____

NOTE: IF YOU ARE LIVING WITH A STEPPARENT, ANSWER ALL REMAINING QUESTIONS AS IF HE OR SHE WERE YOUR REAL PARENT. ALSO ANSWER FOR STEPBROTHERS AND STEPSISTERS AS IF THEY WERE REAL BROTHERS OR SISTERS.

12. How many grades of school did your **father** complete?

________1. No regular schooling
________2. Less than 7 years
________3. 7 to 9 years
________4. At least 10 years, but didn't graduate from high school
________5. Graduated from high school
________6. Some college
________7. Graduated from college
________8. Don't know

13. How many grades of school did your **mother** complete?

________1. No regular schooling
________2. Less than 7 years
________3. 7 to 9 years
________4. At least 10 years, but didn't graduate from high school
________5. Graduated from high school
________6. Some college
________7. Graduated from college
________8. Don't know

14. About how often do your parents (one or both) go to church?
________1. More than once a week
________2. About once a week
________3. About twice a month
________4. About once a month
________5. Several times a year
________6. About once a year
________7. Less than once a year

15. About how often do you go to church?
________1. More than once a week
________2. About once a week
________3. About twice a month
________4. About once a month
________5. Several times a year
________6. About once a year
________7. Less than once a year

16. Were your parents brought up on a farm?
________1. Yes, they both were
________2. Mother was, but not father
________3. Father was, but not mother
________4. Neither was

17. Where do you live now?
________1. In a city or town
________2. Outside of town, but not on a farm
________3. On a farm—less than 25 acres
________4. Farm—25 to 100 acres
________5. Farm—over 100 acres

18-22. Which of the following things do you have in home?

(1) Yes	(2) No	
_____	_____	Telephone
_____	_____	Hot running water
_____	_____	Daily newspaper
_____	_____	Electric washing machine
_____	_____	Television set

23. Do your parents have an automobile?
________1. Yes
________2. No

24. How many rooms are there in your home? (Count kitchen, but not bathroom.)

____

25. Does your father earn his income from farming from some other kind of work?
________1. Entirely from farming
________2. Mostly from farming
________3. Only partly from farming
________4. All from other kind of work

---

26. Which of the following comes closest to describing the kind of work your father does? (If he is retired or not living, his former job.) The examples are just to help you decide.
________1. Is a tenant farmer, farm laborer, or farm renter
________2. Does laboring work, such as a plumber's helper, hod carrier, restaurant helper, or other unskilled work
________3. Is a service worker, such as a barber, waiter, letter carrier, or household servant
________4. Operates a machine or does mechanical work, such as a garage mechanic or a machine operator in a sho factory
________5. Runs a farm which he owns
________6a. Is a foreman in a shop or factory
________6b. Works at a skilled trade or craft, such as a carpenter, electrician, or printer
________7a. Is a sales worker, such as a clerk in a store or a salesman
________7b. Is a clerical or office worker in a business, government agency, or other organization; for example, a bookkee accountant, or postal clerk
________8. Runs a business of his own, like a store, factory or a construction business
________9. Is a manager, official, or executive in a business, government agency, or other organization
________0. Is a professional worker, such as a lawyer, scientist, engineer, architect, doctor, teacher, etc.
________x. Is unemployed

26a. To give us a better idea of your father's work please tell the exact name of his job and describe what he does on this

____

____

____

. Is your mother employed outside the home, at the present time?

______1. No
______2. Yes, part time
______3. Yes, full time

If your mother has ever worked to earn money, please tell what kind of work she does (did)?

____
____
____

How does your home compare with the homes of other young people you know?

______1. My home is neater and cleaner than most
______2. It is about average
______3. It is less clean and neat than the average

What kind of courses are you now taking in school?

______1. Business education courses
______2. Vocational education courses, such as shop, home economics, etc.
______3. General education courses
______4. College preparatory (academic) courses
______5. Some other special type of courses—What?
____
______6. I am not taking any special kind of courses

Approximately what grade average did you make last year in school? (1962-63)

______1. F
______2. D
______3. C–
______4. C
______5. C+
______6. B–
______7. B
______8. B+
______9. A–
______0. A

In general, what do you consider to be a satisfactory grade, for you?

______1. I really don't care much
______2. Any passing grade
______3. Average grade is O.K.
______4. Want to be above average
______5. Among the best in the class

Do you really try to get good grades?

______1. Don't try
______2. Try a little
______3. Try quite a bit
______4. Try very hard

33. How interested are you in most of your schoolwork?

______1. Not at all interested
______2. A little interested
______3. Fairly interested
______4. Very interested

34. Do you ever feel that going to school is a waste of time?

______1. Yes, most of the time
______2. Sometimes
______3. Once in a while
______4. Never feel this way

35. How often do you finish your homework?

______1. Never
______2. Once in a while
______3. About half the time
______4. Most of the time
______5. Always

36. On the average, how much time do you spend studying outside of school each day?

______1. None
______2. Less than 1 hour
______3. 1 to 2 hours
______4. More than 2 hours

37. Suppose a student had to choose between being an excellent student and being very active in extracurricular activities. Which would you most like to be?

______1. The active, popular type
______2. The serious student type
______3. Some of both, but more the active, popular type
______4. Some of both, but more the serious student type

38. How many school extracurricular activities do you take part in?

______

39. Do you plan to stay in high school and graduate?

______1. Definitely not
______2. Probably not
______3. Yes, probably
______4. Yes, definitely

40. How sure are you that you will carry out these plans?

______1. Not sure
______2. Fairly sure
______3. Very sure
______4. Absolutely sure

41. If you could quit school and get a job that paid $80 a week right now, what would you do?

________1. I would definitely take the job
________2. I would think seriously about it, and might quit school
________3. I would think about it, but probably stay in school
________4. I would definitely stay in school

42. If you had to quit school and go to work this year, would you try to come back later to finish up?

________1. I would definitely not come back
________2. I'm pretty sure I wouldn't come back
________3. If I got a real good job, I wouldn't come back
________4. I would try pretty hard to come back
________5. I would come back if at all possible

43. Are you ever jealous of kids who have dropped out of school and are working or having a good time?

________1. Yes, often
________2. Sometimes
________3. Not very often
________4. Never

44. In general, do you like your teachers and get along with them?

________1. Yes, very well
________2. Fairly well
________3. Not as well as I might
________4. Not well at all

45. Do you ever wonder whether you have the ability to do good work and finish high school?

________1. Yes, often
________2. Sometimes
________3. Very seldom
________4. Never; I know I can do it

46-47. List the most important reasons why you are now going to school.

1. ____
2. ____
3. ____

48-49. If you were to drop out of school, what would be the main reasons?

1. ____
2. ____
3. ____

50. In general, what do your parents consider to be sa factory grades for you?

________1. They really don't care much
________2. Any passing grades
________3. Average grade is O.K.
________4. Want me to be above average
________5. Want me to be among best in class

51. What do your parents do if you do not get the kin grades they think you should?

________1. They don't do or say anything
________2. They talk with me about it
________3. They bawl me out
________4. They punish me in some way

52. If you don't do your homework, what do your par do?

________1. They don't say anything, and they d usually check on me
________2. They tell me I should, but don't do thing about it
________3. They say I should, and get after me don't

53. Do you think your parents really understand what are doing in your school work and what you are ing to learn?

________1. No, don't understand much
________2. Just partly understand
________3. Understand fairly well
________4. Understand very well

54. In general, how interested would you say your pare are in how well you do in school?

________1. They don't really care
________2. Interested a little
________3. Somewhat interested
________4. Very interested

55. Which would your parents rather have you be: popu and in a lot of school activities, or a serious stude

________1. The active, popular type
________2. The serious student type
________3. Some of both, but more the active, po lar type
________4. Some of both, but more the serious s dent type

56. If you really wanted to quit school what would y parents say about it?

________1. They wish I would quit
________2. They really wouldn't care
________3. They would try to talk me out of it, wouldn't keep me from it
________4. They would be very disappointed would try hard to keep me from it
________5. They wouldn't let me quit

How many OLDER brothers and sisters do you have?

____

How many YOUNGER brothers and sisters do you have?

____

Do you have any brothers or sisters who dropped out of high school?

________1. No
________2. Yes (How many?________)

Do you have any brothers or sisters who are still in high school?

________1. No
________2. Yes (How many? ________)

Do you have any brothers or sisters who graduated from high school?

________1. No
________2. Yes (How many? ________)

Do you have any brothers or sisters who went to college, or are in college now?

________1. No
________2. Yes (How many? ________)

Do you expect to continue your education or training after you finish high school?

________1. No, I don't plan to
________2. Yes, after I've worked to make some money
________3. Yes, after I've been in the armed forces
________4. Yes, as soon as I finish high school

What kind of further training, if any, do you expect to get beyond high school?

________0. Don't expect to get further training
________1. Beauty or barber college
________2. Regular college or university
________3. Junior (2-year) college
________4. Nursing school
________5. Business or secretarial school
________6. Technical training in the armed forces
________7. Industrial education center

What do you expect to be doing a **year and a half** after you leave high school? (If you aren't really sure, check what you think you'll be doing.)

________1. Attending an industrial training center
________2. Attending a special school such as nursing, secretarial, business, barber, technical, etc.
________3. Working (not in the armed forces)
________4. In the armed forces (Army, Navy, etc.)
________5. Attending a regular 4-year college
________6. Attending a junior (2-year) college
________7. Housewife; not otherwise working

65. What do your parents want you to do after you leave high school?

________1. Get a job
________2. Go into the armed forces
________3. Continue my education in a special school such as technical, business, secretarial, etc.
________4. Continue my education in a regular college or university
________5. They don't care much which way I decide

66. If you had a chance to go to a regular college or junior college after high school, would you like to go?

________1. No
________2. Probably not
________3. I'm not sure
________4. I might want to
________5. Yes, definitely

67. What do you think the chances are that you really will go to college?

________1. No chance at all
________2. Not much chance
________3. About 50-50
________4. I'll probably be going
________5. I'm definitely going

IF THERE IS ANY CHANCE YOU MIGHT GO TO A COLLEGE OR A JUNIOR COLLEGE, ANSWER THESE NEXT QUESTIONS; IF NOT, SKIP TO QUESTION 77.

68-70.

A. If you were to go to college, would you prefer one that had:

________1. More than 2,000 students
________2. 1,000-2,000 students
________3. Under 1,000 students

B. If you were to go to college, would you prefer one that was:

________1. In my home state
________2. In another state in the South
________3. Outside the South

C. If you were to go to college would you prefer one that had:

________1. Only students of my own race
________2. Mostly students of my race
________3. Students accepted without regard to race

71. How would you expect to pay for your college education? (CHECK THE ONE BIGGEST SOURCE OF HELP.)

________1. An athletic scholarship
________2. An academic scholarship
________3. I'll work to pay my own expenses
________4. My parents will borrow the money
________5. My parents have the money saved
________6. My relatives will send me
________7. I don't know

72. How much of your college expenses would your parents pay?

________1. None
________2. Less than half
________3. About half
________4. Most of my expenses
________5. All of my expenses

73. When did you decide that you wanted to go to college?

________1. I always just assumed I'd go
________2. Before I entered high school
________3. In the 9th or 10th grade
________4. In the 11th or 12th grade

74. Have any of your teachers ever told you personally that you ought to go to college if you possibly can?

________1. No, not that I remember
________2. Yes, one of them has
________3. Yes, several of them have
________4. Yes, many of them have

75-76. List, in order of importance **to you**, the three main reasons why you might go to college or junior college.

1. ________________________________
2. ________________________________
3. ________________________________

EVERYONE ANSWER ALL REMAINING QUESTIONS.

77-78. If you do NOT go to college or junior college after finishing with high school, what would be the main reasons?

1. ________________________________
2. ________________________________
3. ________________________________

B7. Have you thought about the kind of work you would like to do when you finish school?

________1. No, never
________2. Not very often
________3. Frequently
________4. Very often

B8. Do you have a very clear idea, right now, of what kind of work you would really like to do?

________1. I don't know what I'd like to do
________2. Have thought about several things, but have not decided
________3. Have a fairly good notion of what I want to do
________4. I know what I want to do.

B9. What kind of work do you think you would most w to do, if you could get it? (Tell enough about it so know exactly what you are thinking of.)

B10. Do you think you will be able to get the kind of w you really want to do, when you are ready to ea living?

________1. Probably not
________2. I don't know
________3. I'd have a fair chance
________4. I probably can
________5. I'm sure I can

B11. If you do NOT get the kind of work you really w what do you think you are most likely to end up doi

B12. If you could NOT get the kind of job you would re like to have, why do you think this would happen

B13. How do you think **your** chances of getting a good will compare with chances of other persons your and sex?

________1. Much worse
________2. Not as good
________3. Same as anyone else
________4. Little better than average
________5. Much better than most

B14. Do you think that the amount of education you will have anything to do with your getting the you most want to have?

________1. No
________2. A little, maybe
________3. Quite a bit
________4. Very much
________5. Will be most important thing

B15. How much have you thought about this?

________1. Never thought about this
________2. Once in a while
________3. Quite often
________4. Very much

How much education do you think you would need to get the job you would most like to have?

________1. I don't know
________2. Have enough education now
________3. Would need to finish high school
________4. Would need special training after high school
________5. Would need to go to college

If you thought that going to school would not help you get a better job, would you want to quit school?

________1. Yes, definitely
________2. I'd seriously think about quitting
________3. I'd have mixed feelings
________4. Would probably want to stay in school, anyway
________5. Would definitely stay in school, anyway

Have you ever talked with your parents about what kind of work you might do when you are grown up?

________1. Yes, often
________2. Yes, a few times
________3. Yes, once or twice
________4. No, never

How do your parents feel about the kind of work you t to do?

________1. They would like me to do something better
________2. They approve and think I can get to do that kind of work
________3. They doubt I can get to do that kind of work and think I ought to try for something else
________4. I don't know how my parents feel about this
________5. I don't know what I want to do

(FOR BOYS ONLY) How would you like to do the kind of work your father does (did)?

________1. Would like that kind of work very much
________2. Would be fairly happy in that kind of work
________3. Would not mind doing that kind of work
________4. Would mind that a little
________5. Would not like that at all

(FOR GIRLS ONLY) How would you like to do the kind of work your mother does (did)?

________1. Would like that kind of work very much
________2. Would be fairly happy in that kind of work
________3. Would not mind doing that kind of work
________4. Would mind that a little
________5. Would not like that at all
________6. Mother never worked to earn money

B21. How close do you and your mother feel toward each other?

________1. Not at all close
________2. Not particularly close
________3. Moderately close
________4. Quite close
________5. Extremely close

B22. Do you feel that you can talk over your personal problems with your mother?

________1. None of them
________2. Very few of them
________3. Some of them
________4. Most of them
________5. All of them

B23. Do you and your mother have many of the same kinds of interests?

________1. None
________2. Hardly any
________3. Some
________4. Quite a few
________5. Very many

B24. Do you actually do many things with your mother for fun?

________1. No, nothing
________2. Very few things
________3. Some things
________4. Quite a few things
________5. Many things

B25. Do you respect your mother's opinions about the important things in life?

________1. Not at all
________2. Very little
________3. Somewhat
________4. Very much
________5. Completely

B26. How much influence has your mother had on your ideas of right and wrong?

________1. Very little
________2. Some
________3. Quite a bit
________4. Very much

B27. How close do you and your FATHER feel toward each other?

________1. Not at all close
________2. Not particularly close
________3. Moderately close
________4. Quite close
________5. Extremely close

B28. Do you feel that you can talk over your personal problems with your father?

________1. None of them
________2. Very few of them
________3. Some of them
________4. Most of them
________5. All of them

B29. Do you and your father have many of the same kinds of interests?

________1. None
________2. Hardly any
________3. Some
________4. Quite a few
________5. Very many

B30. Do you actually do many things with your father for fun?

________1. No, nothing
________2. Very few things
________3. Some things
________4. Quite a few things
________5. Many things

B31. Do you respect your father's opinions about the important things in life?

________1. Not at all
________2. Very little
________3. Somewhat
________4. Very much
________5. Completely

B32. How much influence has your father had on your ideas of right and wrong?

________1. Very little
________2. Some
________3. Quite a bit
________4. Very much

B33. How often do your parents quarrel or argue with each other?

________1. Very often
________2. Frequently
________3. Now and then
________4. Very seldom
________5. Never

B34. How happy do you think your parents' marriage is?

________1. Quite unhappy
________2. Slightly unhappy
________3. Somewhat happy
________4. Fairly happy
________5. Very happy
________6. Completely happy

B35. In general, would you say your home life is happy or less happy than that of other young p you know?

________1. Much more happy
________2. Quite a bit more happy
________3. A little bit happier
________4. About average
________5. A little less happy
________6. Quite a bit less happy
________7. Much less happy

B36. When your parents disagree about something should be done, which one usually gets his (or way about it?

________1. Mother, usually
________2. Mother, more often
________3. About 50-50
________4. Father, more often
________5. Father, usually

B37. In general, how are most decisions made betwee and your **mother?**

________1. My mother just tells me what to do
________2. She listens to me, but makes the de herself
________3. I can often make my own decisions, she has the final word
________4. My opinions are as important as mother's in deciding what I should
________5. I can make my own decision but she like me to consider her opinion
________6. I can do what I want regardless of she thinks
________7. She doesn't care what I do

B38. In general, how are most decisions made betwee and your **father?**

________1. My father just tells me what to do?
________2. He listens to me, but makes the de himself
________3. I can often make my own decisions he has the final word
________4. My opinions are as important a father's in deciding what I should do
________5. I can make my own decision but he like me to consider his opinion
________6. I can do what I want regardless of he thinks
________7. He doesn't care what I do

B39. Are you usually fairly sure of what your parent pect of you and how they want you to act?

________1. I have no idea what they expect
________2. I am sometimes in doubt
________3. I know fairly well
________4. I usually know
________5. I always know

When you don't know why your parents make a particular decision or have certain rules for you to follow, will they explain the reason?

________1. Never
________2. Once in a while
________3. Sometimes
________4. Usually
________5. Always

Do you think your parents' ideas, rules, or principles about how you should behave are good and reasonable, or wrong and unreasonable

________1. Usually unreasonable
________2. More unreasonable than reasonable
________3. About 50-50
________4. More reasonable than unreasonable
________5. Usually reasonable

Do your parents get after you for not acting the way they think you should?

________1. Very often
________2. Frequently
________3. Sometimes
________4. Once in a while
________5. Never

Do your parents ever disagree with each other about what you should be allowed to do, or what kind of behavior they expect of you?

________1. Yes, very often
________2. Frequently
________3. Sometimes
________4. Very seldom
________5. Never

When you disobey your parents, do you get punished for it in some way?

________1. Always
________2. Usually
________3. Frequently
________4. Sometimes
________5. Never

How often, on the average, are you punished or corrected in some way by your parents?

________1. At least once a day
________2. Several times a week
________3. About once a week
________4. About once a month
________5. Less than once a month

When your parents aren't around and you think they will never find out, how often do you do things they would not approve of?

________1. Very often
________2. Frequently
________3. Once in a while
________4. Very seldom
________5. Never

B47. When you do something that your parents would not want you to do, does it bother your conscience?

________1. Never
________2. Very slightly
________3. A little
________4. Quite a bit
________5. Very much

B48. In general, what kind of a reputation do you think your family has in the community?

________1. Very good; a top family
________2. Above average; looked up to
________3. About average; fairly good
________4. Just so-so
________5. Rather poor reputation

B49. How would you describe your family?

________1. Upper class
________2. Upper middle class
________3. Lower middle class
________4. Working class
________5. Lower class

B50. Have you had any friends who dropped out before finishing high school?

________1. No
________2. Just one
________3. Two or three
________4. Several

B51. In general, are you as good friends with them as you were before they dropped out?

________1. Better friends now
________2. About the same
________3. Not as good friends now
________4. None have dropped out

B52. Do you have any good friends who have gone on to college or other kind of school after finishing high school?

________1. No, none
________2. Yes, one or two
________3. Yes, several

B53. If you count only your **really close friends**, how many do you have?

____

B54. a. How many of these have dropped out of school?

____

b. How many have graduated from high school?

____

c. How many are still in high school?

____

B55. Do your best friends **in school** really try to be good students, or don't they care much about school?

________1. They don't work at all
________2. They don't work very much
________3. They try a little
________4. They try quite a bit
________5. They try very hard

B56. In general, what kind of grades do your closest school friends get?

________1. Most are quite a bit below average
________2. Most are a little below average
________3. Some are average and some are below average
________4. Most are average
________5. Some are above average, and some are just average or below average
________6. Most are above average
________7. Most are top students

B57. What plans do you think your closest friends have about school?

________1. Most will drop out before finishing high school
________2. Some will drop out but most will finish high school
________3. Most will finish high school, but will not have any more schooling
________4. All will probably finish, and some may go on to college
________5. Most of them will go to college

B58. Which one of these statements best describes the way you yourself fit in with the group you go with?

________1. I'm one of the leaders in my group
________2. I'm fairly popular, but not a leader
________3. I'm not especially popular, but they don't mind having me around
________4. I'm not really an insider
________5. I don't have any special group of friends

B59. If someone who knew the way things work at your school rated all the groups of students on how popular they are, how would your own group of best friends rate?

________1. They would be the leading group
________2. They would rate near the top
________3. Above average
________4. About average
________5. A little below average
________6. They would be near the bottom

B60. How much do you think most teachers like the group of friends you go with?

________1. Like them very much
________2. Like them fairly well
________3. Neither one way nor the other
________4. Don't like them much
________5. Don't like them at all

B61. Outside of the group you consider as your good friends, how do you get along with the other kids in school?

________1. I'm fairly popular, I believe
________2. I'm well liked
________3. I'm about average
________4. Not particularly well liked
________5. Rather unpopular
________6. Very few people know me

B62. In general, what do your parents think of your frier

________1. Approve of them very much
________2. Approve for the most part
________3. Disapprove slightly
________4. Disapprove very much
________5. Do not know them

B63. In general, whose ideas and opinions do you res more as a guide to your own behavior, your par or your best friends'?

________1. Best friends', much more
________2. Best friends', little more
________3. About equal
________4. Parents', little more
________5. Parents', much more

B64a. Which of the following persons have been impo to you in helping you plan for the future? (Chec who have been important.)

________1. Father
________2. Mother
________3. Brothers or sisters
________4. Other relatives
________5. Friends your own age
________6. School teachers
________7. Other adults not already mentioned.

B64b. CIRCLE THE ONE ABOVE WHO HAS BEEN M IMPORTANT.

B65a. (FOR BOYS ONLY) Do you think your chance living the kind of life you want are better, or w than those your father had when he was your ag

________1. Will not be as good
________2. Will be about the same
________3. Will be a little better
________4. Will be much better

B65b. (FOR GIRLS ONLY) Do you think your chance living the kind of life you want are better, or w than those your mother had when she was your

________1. Will not be as good
________2. Will be about the same
________3. Will be a little better
________4. Will be much better

B66a. (FOR BOYS ONLY) Do you think you expect out of life than your father did when he was your

________1. I probably expect less
________2. About the same
________3. I expect a little more
________4. I expect much more

B66b. (FOR GIRLS ONLY) Do you think you expect out of life than your mother did when she was age?

________1. I probably expect less
________2. About the same
________3. I expect a little more
________4. I expect much more

Which of the following things do you think are most important for a person to be a success? PUT A "1" BESIDE THE THING THAT YOU THINK IS MOST IMPORTANT, A "2" BESIDE THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT THING, AND AN "X" BESIDE THE LEAST IMPORTANT THING.

________1. A sense of humor
________2. Hard work
________3. Brains
________4. Luck
________5. Your sex
________6. Your race
________7. Who you know
________8. Honesty
________9. Belief in God

E: SEVERAL OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE JUST OPINIONS THAT SOME PEOPLE AGREE WITH AND OTHER PEOPLE DISAGREE WITH. CHECK YOUR OPINION.

If a person can get a good job when he graduates from high school, he should take it, instead of going on to college.

________1. Definitely agree
________2. Agree somewhat
________3. Disagree somewhat
________4. Definitely disagree

I would rather spend money than save it.

________1. Definitely agree
________2. Agree somewhat
________3. Disagree somewhat
________4. Definitely disagree

A smart person who works hard really doesn't need a lot of education to be a success in life.

________1. Definitely agree
________2. Agree somewhat
________3. Disagree somewhat
________4. Definitely disagree

With the way the world is now, you should think about what will make you happy today, and not worry about tomorrow.

________1. Definitely agree
________2. Agree somewhat
________3. Disagree somewhat
________4. Definitely disagree

People who try real hard to get ahead don't have very much fun.

________1. Definitely agree
________2. Agree somewhat
________3. Disagree somewhat
________4. Definitely disagree

C15. Lots of people cannot get what they want in life, even if they try very hard.

________1. Definitely agree
________2. Agree somewhat
________3. Disagree somewhat
________4. Definitely disagree

C16. If a person wants to "be looked up to" by the people who really count in life, he must have a good education.

________1. Definitely agree
________2. Agree somewhat
________3. Disagree somewhat
________4. Definitely disagree

C17. It is more important to enjoy life and have a lot of friends than it is to have a good job and make a lot of money.

________1. Definitely agree
________2. Agree somewhat
________3. Disagree somewhat
________4. Definitely disagree

C18. Do you prefer to do things that you are used to doing, rather than to try out new things?

________1. Always
________2. Usually
________3. Sometimes
________4. Never

C19. If a person is not successful in life, it is his own fault.

________1. Definitely agree
________2. Agree somewhat
________3. Disagree somewhat
________4. Definitely disagree

C20. Which do you think is more important for success, good luck or hard work?

________1. Good luck is much more important
________2. Good luck is a little more important
________3. It's about half and half
________4. Hard work is a little more important
________5. Hard work is much more important

C21. The world is becoming a better place to live in all the time.

________1. Definitely agree
________2. Agree somewhat
________3. Disagree somewhat
________4. Definitely disagree

C22. No matter how hard a person tries, he cannot be successful in life unless other people give him a chance.

________1. Definitely agree
________2. Agree somewhat
________3. Disagree somewhat
________4. Definitely disagree

C23. Are you satisfied with the kind of person you are?

______1. No, I'm very dissatisfied
______2. I'm quite dissatisfied
______3. Somewhat dissatisfied
______4. Satisfied in most ways
______5. Completely satisfied

C24. Do you feel that you can do well on anything you try?

______1. Yes, always
______2. Yes, most of the time
______3. Not very often
______4. Seldom

C25. How sure are you that your own ideas and opinions about what you should do and believe are right and best for you?

______1. Not at all sure
______2. Not very sure
______3. A little sure
______4. Quite sure
______5. Completely sure

C26. Do you ever take books out of the library just to read for pleasure—and **not** because you have to read them for school?

______1. Yes, more than once a month
______2. Yes, about once a month
______3. Once in a while
______4. No, I never have

C27. Where do you expect to live when you are grown

______1. In the town, city or county where I live
______2. Somewhere else in the same state
______3. In another Southern state
______4. In another part of the United States
______5. In some other country

C28. In what part of the United States do you think a son like yourself has the best chance to make a cess out of his life?

______1. The South
______2. The North
______3. The West
______4. There isn't much difference

C29. In what part of the United States do you think hardest for a person like yourself to make a su out of life?

______1. The South
______2. The North
______3. The West
______4. There isn't much difference

C30. It would help us in our study to know if we been able to make our questions clear and un standable. How did you find them?

______1. Had trouble with most of them
______2. There were a lot of them that were clear
______3. Only a few were not clear
______4. They were easy to understand

PLEASE CHECK BACK TO MAKE SURE YOU HAVE ANSWERED ALL QUESTIONS WHICH APPLY TO YOU

C31. In the space that remains, would you please write a short essay telling us about the general feelings you have about school, and some of the reasons you feel this way about it.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN OUR STUDY.